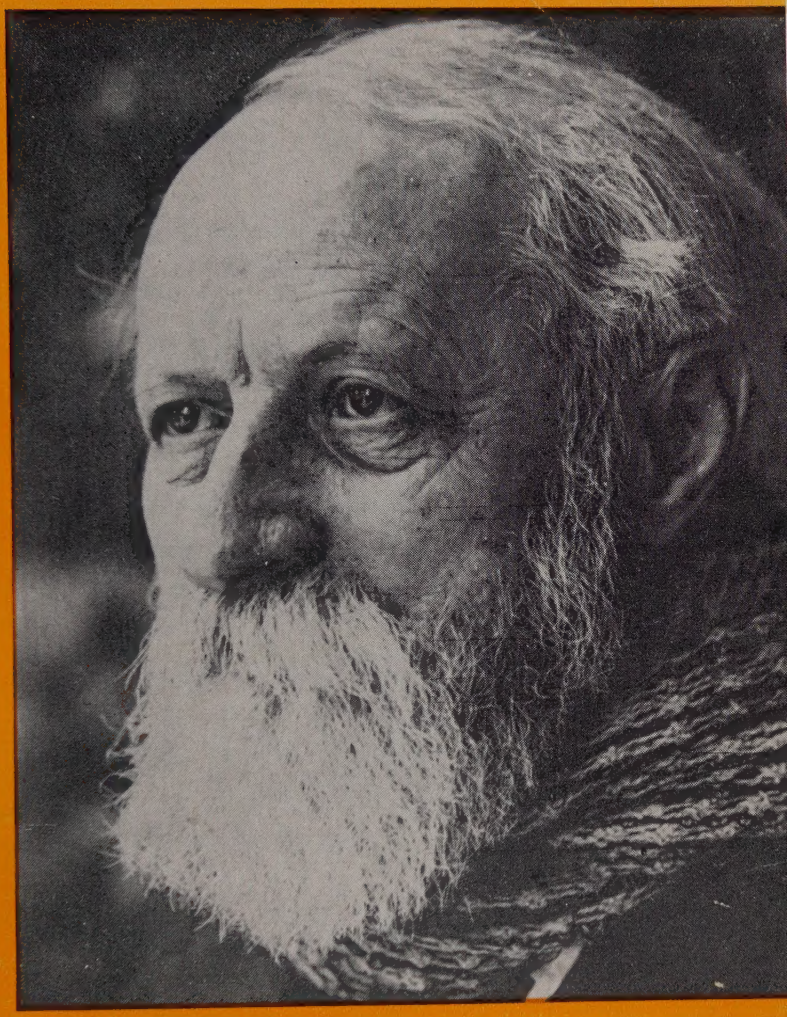
ellowship

JANUARY 1, 1961 30c

MAGAZINE OF THE

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION



OOK LIBRARY
CIFIC SCHOOL
F RELIGION

v.27
961

aurice
edman

MARTIN BUBER

and the covenant of peace

Vera Brittain — WHITE RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Charles E. Osgood — THE DYNAMICS OF CONTROVERSY

James Lieberman — THE OATH AS A POLITICAL DEFENSE

Virgie Bernhardt — McCRACKIN'S CONSCIENCE AND THE CHURCH

Matt Herron — QUAKER PEACE WITNESS: *Four Page Photo Story*

Also in this issue: Wilfried von Rekowski on EIRENE

Kenneth Scott Latourette reviews CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND PEACE

reviews of other important books and pamphlets

81325 1961

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

VOL. 27 • NO. 1 JANUARY 1, 1961

In Context 1

Contributors in this issue 3

Martin Buber and the Covenant of Peace
—Maurice Friedman 4
In the existential philosophy of dialogue, a great Jewish thinkers finds a new and vital way of seeing and overcoming conflicts between man and man.

The Oath As a Political Defense—E. James Lieberman ... 8
Loyalty oaths, says one oath-refuser, do not prove anyone's loyalty, but provide a way for securing conformity to the status quo.

The Dynamics of Controversy—Charles E. Osgood 11
Much of the furor in international disputes is caused not by the real issues at stake but by foibles of language and attitude that impede sane communication.

White Resistance in South Africa—Vera Brittain 15
In the struggle between white supremacy and racial brotherhood, a small minority of white South Africans continue to stand up for democracy and against apartheid.

Quaker Witness for Peace—Matt Herron 17
FELLOWSHIP's Peace Information Edition has been omitted this issue in order to present a striking and unusual 4-page photo story of last fall's pilgrimage of Quakers to the Pentagon.

McCrackin's Conscience and the Church
—Virgie Bernhardt 21
A pacifist minister's refusal to pay taxes for arms cost him a prison term. Will his Presbytery now further penalize his conscience or vindicate it?

Potpourri 25
Wilfried von Rekowski tells of the work being done in Morocco by pacifist work-campers in EIRENE.

Books 27

Pamphlets 30

Index 1960 33

COVER PHOTO: Martin Buber. Courtesy Chas. Scribner's Sons.

MEMBER ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

EDITOR
ALFRED HASSLER

MANAGING EDITOR
WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
PAUL PEABODY

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Florence Converse
Henry Hitt Crane
Albert Edward Day
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Aldous Huxley
Josephine W. Johnson
Jameson Jones
Martin Luther King Jr.
James M. Lawson Jr.
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Milton Mayer
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Pitirim A. Sorokin
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley Jr.
Howard Thurman

ILLUSTRATOR
BARRY MARTIN

FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly. Re-entered as second-class matter January 1, 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

FELLOWSHIP
IS PUBLISHED BY THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

See inside back cover for list of officers, staff and advisory council. An abbreviated form of the Fellowship's statement of purpose —"That Men May Live"— appears on page 36.

30 CENTS A COPY
$3 A YEAR

in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

ON THE CURRENT SCENE

NEW YEAR

The most obvious thing to say about this country's contribution to peace as the New Year begins is that it's hard to see how there can be any way left to go but up. Viewers-with-alarm have been observing for some time that America's image was becoming "blurred" before the rest of the world, but that would be a charitable description of some of our government's actions during the closing weeks of 1960. One would almost think that a conscious effort was under way to bring into sharp focus the ugly picture of this country painted by the Communists.

In New Orleans a handful of heroic Negro and white parents quietly refused to surrender to the howls and threats of segregationist mobs or their own understandable fears for their children. Millions of men and women the country over watched them with anxiety and admiration, but from both the President and the President-elect there came only reverberating silence.

In the United Nations a resolution calling for the end of colonialism was adopted by a vote of 89-0, with the United States abstaining, reportedly on direct orders from the White House. Only nine other nations joined us in abstaining on that vote, including such bulwarks of democracy as the Dominican Republic, Franco Spain, Portugal and South Africa. To her own glory, Mrs. Zelma Watson George, a member of our delegation, stood and applauded when the vote was announced, after having failed in a desperate telephoned attempt to change the President's mind. "I wanted to crawl under the table when we abstained," she said, "but I decided to just stand and applaud instead."

Then, in the UN Political Committee, we voted against a resolution calling for independence and a UN-directed referendum for Algeria. By voting against it we supported the contention of our NATO ally, France, that the Algerian conflict is "purely a domestic affair," an argument not unlike the Soviet justification for intervention in Hungary.

These are new demonstrations of the kind of moral surrender imposed on a people by commitment to a total faith in militarism, which requires subordination of moral values to the expedients of military alliance. That faith is being shaken among the American public, but shows few signs of weakening its hold on Washington. Only an aroused and insistent public demand will have much chance of changing things.

ACCIDENTAL

Keep this story for the next person who ridicules the idea of accidental nuclear war. It comes from the *Manchester Guardian* of December 1:

> Either I have influenza coming on, or else there is a certain glister of unreality in the air. Do you know the world nearly ended last week? The early warning radar station at Thule picked up signals which were analyzed by the computers there as a flight of missiles coming up over the horizon from Russia and heading in the direction of America. The famous red telephone rang at Strategic Air Command headquarters in Nebraska. All over the world SAC crews stood to their planes. Someone in Nebraska signaled Thule for confirmation. There was no answer—Thule must have been hit already.
>
> What restrained Free-World from launching its retaliation weapons during the next half-hour I do not know, unless it was those old-fashioned deterrents, incredulity and funk. Whatever it was, it came in handy, for it turned out that Thule had picked up not a squadron of rockets, but a large earth satellite, of whose existence Intelligence had apparently failed to inform them, called the moon. By the time they had discovered this little error, however, they were prevented from passing the correction on because an iceberg had cut their submarine cable link.
>
> Quite a coincidence, eh?
>
> I bet they had a good old laugh about it afterwards. I'd utter a guffaw or two myself if my teeth weren't chattering so much.

Interestingly enough, the story was not reported in American newspapers until six

days after the *Guardian* account, when the Air Force said that the incident had occurred on October 5.

STABILIZED

The foregoing account makes particularly interesting reading in light of reports that President-elect Kennedy's "Ivy League" advisers are pushing hard for a policy based on the idea of "stabilized deterrence" rather than disarmament. The substance of the idea is that both sides will have retaliatory weapons mounted on mobile bases—railroad flatcars, Polaris submarines, etc.—so that the enemy can never be sure of destroying its capacity for retaliatory action. Each side will therefore be afraid to launch an attack and war will be averted.

The Thule incident is a dramatic demonstration of the lack of realism in the plan.*

SANE

The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, usually referred to as SANE, is in trouble. The Committee, which in the past few years has drawn thousands of Americans into a peace movement with the limited objective of securing a treaty banning further tests of nuclear weapons, is badly split by a civil liberties issue. Its dilemma highlights a recurring problem for those who work at achieving peace in the context of cold war between the East and West.

Briefly, SANE's troubles began when a subcommittee of the Senate Internal Security Committee, chaired by Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, subpoenaed first one and then forty SANE leaders from New York City and vicinity. Senator Dodd, who strenuously opposes a test ban, disclaimed any wish to smear SANE, but insisted that his committee had a right to discover how much Communist influence existed in the test-ban movement.

Some of those in positions of national leadership, including prominent FOR personalities, urged that SANE should defy the senator, and if necessary make a national issue of his attempts to interfere with, and intimidate, a private organization of citizens. The majority, however, agreed that a problem *did* exist, and supported national co-chairman Norman Cousins in an "arrangement" which he negotiated with Senator Dodd. That arrangement resulted in three important things: (1) cancellation of a planned speech by Senator Dodd "exposing the Communists in SANE"; (2) committee agreement to question witnesses in executive (private) session rather than the public sessions that would expose them to public obloquy and possible vocational and other reprisals, and (3) agreement on SANE's part to clean its own house, which has resulted in expulsion from the organization of a substantial number of members of varying degrees of influence.

While many FOR members have had prominent roles in SANE (the new executive secretary is FOR member Homer A. Jack), the FOR as such has had no official connection with the other organization and consequently has taken no formal stand on the issue. Presumably there are FOR members on both sides of the dispute; we hope this department may be forgiven the expression of the personal opinion, strongly held, that SANE should have refused to make any concessions to Senator Dodd. Reconciliation may work miracles; appeasement does not.

Yet the most tragic aspect of the matter is the further diversion of the peace forces of the country from the urgent task of making peace, and the bitterness that finds expression in attacks on the motives and good faith of people who have contributed greatly to the building of peace sentiment in the country. Perhaps that is the true victory of Senator Dodd; at least, it is an expenditure of time, energy and good will that the peace movement needs desperately to conserve.

RECESSIONAL

The unemployment rate for November according to the December 17 *AFL-CIO News*, was the "highest for the month in 20 years"—and it quoted a Labor Department spokesman as saying the trend is upward. From November's four million jobless, we are to go on to 5.3 million by February, granting seasonal job rises in Easter trade, outdoor construction and

* For a fuller comment on the "stabilized deterrence" policy, write for Action Bulletin 21 from the Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street, NE Washington 2, D. C.

griculture. Without such an upswing, the otal of men and women looking for work nd unable to find it may hit six million. nless you live in a factory district, you ay not notice the slump; the bulk of those hid off are in steel, auto and machinery lants.

Two new pamphlets, *The Big Hand in Your Pocket* and *Community of Fear* (see eviews on pages 30-31), point out that over en percent of the U.S. Gross National roduct is being spent by the Defense Department, and fully one-third of our entire economy is in some degree dependent n the military sector. This, presumably, loes not include the substantial sums spent y millions of parents for war toys, nor the ook trade's Civil War boondoggle, nor he smog of gunsmoke that clouds our elevision and motion picture screens. When we add it all up, counting in the minuses—a recent book title sums up the consequences of unsocialized medicine: "It's Cheaper to Die"; and the persistence of slums, the growth of crime rates, "planned obsolescence," etc., etc.—it is not hard o see that under the thin crust of the American "welfare state" is a large, soggy, putrescent mass of societal sickness.

Henry Miller once wrote, in "Murder the Murderer," that if defense was really our paramount concern, businessmen would forego profits and even dip into capital, while workers would tighten their belts and work longer hours in sacrificial service to the cause. But it is no less true now than when he wrote, that the Permanent War Economy promotes a way of life that is anything but self-sacrificing.

Now our economic pundits are calling for "energetic leadership" and "growth" to stem the recession. What kind of growth —the same cancerous affluence we now have? Leadership toward what kind of goal—keeping the cold war smoldering? A "little war" in Laos, Cuba or elsewhere might bail us out—or new shipments of NATO arms to France for use in Algeria. On the other hand, a crash program to resettle every refugee in the world, build new housing and schools, clinics, hospitals, youth centers—this would take up the slack and give millions of Americans a renewed sense of purpose. But *that* would be socialism!

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Charles E. Osgood is the director of the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois. "The Dynamics of Controversy" is part of a longer, unpublished paper, *The Human Side of Policy in a Nuclear Age*. Dr. Osgood is also the author of other significant articles: "The Case for Graduated Unilateral Disarmament" in *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* and "Suggestions for Winning the Real War With Communism" in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

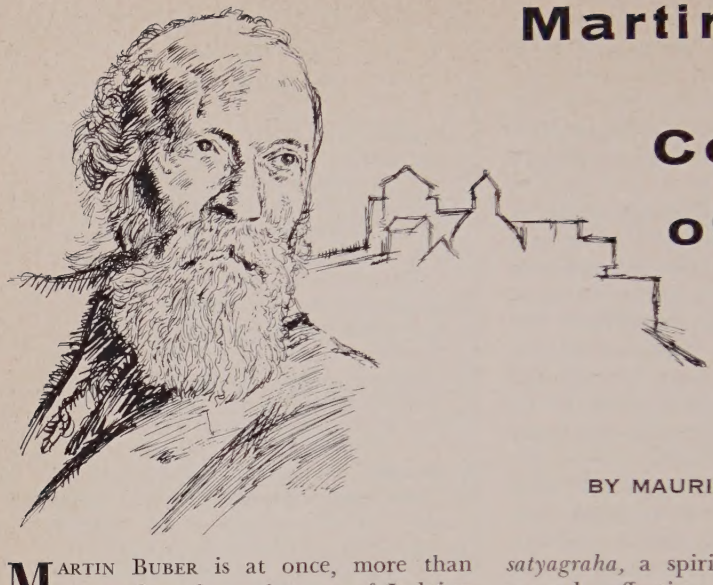
Maurice S. Friedman is professor of philosophy at Sarah Lawrence College and a faculty member of the Washington School of Psychiatry. A member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, he was in CPS in World War II. Dr. Friedman is well known as a translator and interpreter of the writings of Martin Buber, including *Tales of Rabbi Nachmann, Hasidism and Modern Man* and *Pointing the Way*. His book, *Martin Buber: The Life of Dialogue*, is the definitive study of Buber's thought.

Vera Brittain is a member of the British FOR who has contributed a number of outstanding articles to FELLOWSHIP over the years. A distinguished and prolific writer, she has seen nearly a score of her books published in the United States —among them *Account Rendered, Testament of Youth, Humiliation With Honor* and *Testament of Experience*.

E. James Lieberman, M.D., is a resident in psychiatry in Boston who lost an appointment to the Harvard faculty by his refusal to sign a loyalty oath.

Virgie Bernhardt is a Quaker housewife and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation who has been closely associated with the Rev. Maurice McCrackin and West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church for the past two years. Her poem, "The Trial," appeared in the November 1 FELLOWSHIP, and other poems, articles and children's stories by her have appeared elsewhere.

Information about book reviewers is on page. 27.



Martin Buber AND THE Covenant of Peace

BY MAURICE FRIEDMAN

MARTIN BUBER is at once, more than any other, the spokesman of Judaism before the world and one of the truly universal men of our time, comparable in this respect only with Mahatma Gandhi and Albert Schweitzer. Although Martin Buber is one of the greatest living philosophers, it is not this alone that has made men such as the Swiss novelist Hermann Hesse and the Protestant theologian Reinhold Neibuhr speak of him as one of the few wise men living on the earth today. Rather it is his concern with the "lived concrete," the everyday reality which he takes up into his imagining and bears as his responsibility.

We live in an age of compounded crises, an age of hot and cold war and the constant threat of total annihilation by the weapons that we ourselves have perfected. It is an age more and more bereft of authentic human existence, and even the image of such existence increasingly deserts us. Those who cannot accept the compromises of our age run to the extremes—the yogi and the commissar, the saint and the political actionist. The one prayer which seems least likely to be answered, the prayer we have almost ceased to pray, is "Dona nobis pacem," "Give us peace." Yet in our age three great figures have emerged, each of whom in his way is a peacemaker—Gandhi, Schweitzer, and Martin Buber. Each in his own way and on his own ground: Gandhi, who found the meeting point of religion and politics in *satyagraha,* a spiritual "soul-force" which proved effective in liberating India; Schweitzer, whose Christian love has expressed itself in a practical "reverence for life" and whose concern for all of life also extends to repeated pleas for outlawing nuclear weapons; Martin Buber, who has found in the Biblical Covenant, in Isaiah's "covenant of peace," a base for real meeting between peoples and real reconciliation between conflicting claims.

The peacemaker "is God's fellow worker," writes Buber, but we make peace not by conciliatory words and humane projects but through making peace "wherever we are destined and summoned to do so: in the active life of our own community and in that aspect of it which can actively help determine its relationship to another community." The decisive test of brotherhood is not within the community but at the boundary between community and community, people and people, church and church, for this is the place where diversity of kind and mind is felt most strongly. "Every time we stand this test," writes Buber, "a new step is taken toward a true humanity, gathered in the name of God." One of the central emphases of Buber's Zionism, correspondingly, has been his insistence that the Jews in Palestine live *with* the Arabs and not just *next* to them. Before the Jewish-Arab war the Bubers lived in a big house on a hill overlooking Jerusalem in the Arab quarter known as

Dir Abu Tor. The Arabs in Dir Abu Tor had great respect for Buber and called him "the old saint" and "the old man." When the Jewish-Arab war broke out, it became too difficult for the Bubers to stay on and they moved to the modern Jewish quarter of the city. After the Arabs took over Dir Abu Tor, they plundered and destroyed everything in the house of Buber's neighbor, said the man who told me this story; but the Bubers' house was excellently looked after and its possessions completely untouched during the whole Arab occupation. There was even a saying among the Arabs that Professor Buber was still living there, writing and thinking.

The key to Martin Buber as peacemaker is found in his own conception of "dialogue"—the meeting with the other person, the other group, the other people which confirms it in its otherness yet does not deny oneself and the ground on which one stands. The choice is not between oneself and the other, nor is there some objective ground to which one can rise above the facing sides, the conflicting claims. Rather genuine dialogue is at once a confirmation of otherness and togetherness—the living embodiment of the Biblical creation in which man is really free yet remains bound in relation with God. Modern man has lost his trust in existence, writes Buber, and the most acute symptom of it is that a genuine word cannot arise between the conflicting camps in the so-called cold war. "In a genuine dialogue each of the partners, even when he stands in opposition to the other, heeds, affirms, and confirms his opponent as an existing other. Only so can conflict certainly not be eliminated from the world, but be humanly arbitrated and led towards its overcoming." The reason why such genuine dialogue cannot arise is that in our time the ancient mistrust between men has become existential. "The human world," wrote Buber in 1952, "is today, as never before, split into two camps, each of which understands the other as the embodiment of falsehood and itself as the embodiment of truth." Man not only thinks his principle true and the opposing one false, as in earlier epochs, but he now believes "that he is concerned with the recognition and realization of right, his opponent with the masking of selfish interest."

It is precisely in these terms and in Martin Buber's own words that Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations, analyzed our present world situation in an address at Cambridge University on June 5, 1958:

> "The widening of our political horizons to embrace in a new sense the whole of the world, should have meant an approach to the ideal sung in Schiller's 'Ode to Joy,' but it has, paradoxically, led to new conflicts and to new difficulties to establish even simple human contact and communication. . . . The dividing line goes within ourselves, within our own peoples and also within other nations. It does not coincide with any political or geographical boundaries. The ultimate fight is one between the human and the subhuman. We are on dangerous ground if we believe that any individual, any nation or any ideology has a monopoly on rightness, liberty and human dignity.
>
> "When we fully recognize this and translate our insight into words and action, we may also be able to re-establish full human contact and communications across geographical and political boundaries, and to get out of a public debate which often seems to be inspired more by a wish to impress than by a will to understand and to be understood . . . What then is wrong? . . . I would in this context like to quote one of the influential thinkers of our time, whose personal history and national experience have given him a vantage point of significance.
>
> "In an address in Carnegie Hall in New York, in 1952, Martin Buber had the following to say: 'One no longer merely fears that the other will voluntarily dissemble, but one takes it for granted that he cannot do otherwise. . . . The other communicates to me the perspective that he has acquired on a certain subject, but I do not really take cognizance of his communication as knowledge . . . rather I listen for what drives the other to say what he says, for an unconscious motive. . . . Since it is the idea of the other, it is for me an "ideology." My main task in my intercourse with my fellow-man becomes more and more . . . to see through and unmask him. . . . It is no longer the uprightness, the honesty of the other which is in question, but the inner integrity of his existence itself. . . . This game naturally only becomes complete as it becomes reciprocal. . . . Hence one may foresee in the future a degree of reciprocity in existential mistrust where speech will turn into dumbness and sense into madness.' . . . Out of the depth of his feelings Martin Buber has found expressions which it would be vain for me to try to improve."*

* Press Release SG/684, June 5, 1958. Hammarskjold's quotation, which I have abridged, is from Martin Buber, *Pointing the Way: Collected Essays*, edited and translated by Maurice Friedman (N. Y.: Harper, 1957), "Hope for This Hour," pp. 221-224.

The resumption of true dialogue between peoples will only be possible when the existential mistrust which divides the world into two hostile camps is overcome. But in the closed sphere of the exclusively political there is no way to penetrate to the factual life of factual men nor to relieve the present situation whose " 'natural end' is the technically perfect suicide of the human race." It is just this powerlessness of politics which must be recognized today before it is too late, writes Buber, and it must be recognized by men who will come together out of the camps and will talk with one another, despite their criticism of the opposing system and their loyalty to their own. Men such as these will be able to distinguish between the true and the exaggerated needs of their own and other people. There is one front of such men, the representatives of a true humanity who fight together even without knowing it, each in his own place.

Zion and the Community of Man

What such genuine dialogue means Martin Buber himself showed when he accepted in 1953 the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade which was given two years earlier to Albert Schweitzer. During the time of the Nazi persecution of the Jews, Buber provided educational, spiritual, and personal leadership of a rare quality, saving thousands from spiritual despair and teaching the German Jews to die as Jews down through the ages have died—sanctifying the name of God. Moreover, Buber counts himself among "those who have not got over what happened and will not get over it." Yet in 1953 he accepted the Peace Prize in the face of severe criticism from many parts of the Jewish press. In his acceptance speech Buber pointed out that less than a decade before several thousand Germans killed millions of his people and fellow-believers "in a systematically prepared and executed procedure, the organized cruelty of which cannot be compared with any earlier historical event.

> "With those who took part in this action in any capacity, I, one of the survivors, have only in a formal sense a common humanity. They have so radically removed themselves from the human sphere, so transposed themselves into a sphere of monstrous inhumanity inaccessible to my power of conception, that not even hatred, much less the overcoming of hatred, was able to arise in me. And what am I that I could here presume to 'forgive'!"

At the same time, Buber pointed to other Germans who underwent martyrdom rather than accept or participate in this murder of a whole people. The inner battle of every people between the forces of humanity and the forces of inhumanity, writes Buber, is the deepest issue in the world today, obscured though it is by the "cold war." "The solidarity of all separate groups in the flaming battle for the becoming of one humanity is, in the present hour, the highest duty on earth. To obey this duty is laid on the Jew chosen as symbol"—on Martin Buber who received the confession of the Germans for his people—"even there, indeed just there, where the never-to-be-effaced memory of what has happened stands in opposition to it."*

During the last half century Buber has been one of the foremost Zionist leaders and thinkers and at the same time has been among the leaders of those Jews who have worked for Jewish-Arab cooperation and understanding. Israel's special vocation is not just another nationalism which makes the nation an end in itself. The people need the land and freedom to organize their own life in order to realize the goal of genuine and just community. "Decisive for us is not the promise of the land," wrote Buber in an open letter to Gandhi, "but the command the fulfillment of which is bound up with the land, with the existence of a free Jewish community in this country. . . . It may not be that the soil and the freedom for fulfillment be denied us." The state as such, however, is at best only a means to the goal of Zion,

* *Pointing the Way*, "Genuine Dialogue and the Possibilities of Peace," pp. 232-34

and it may even be an obstacle to it if the true nature of Zion as commission and task is not held uppermost. The essence of the essays that Buber has written on Zionism over a period of fifty years is the teaching that Zion must be built *bmishpat*, with justice. "No way leads to any other goal but to what is like it." "What knowledge could be of greater importance to the men of our age, and to the various communities of our time," wrote Buber in 1947, than that "the use of unrighteousness as a means to a righteous end makes the end itself unrighteous?" In order to preserve the community of man, we are often compelled to accept wrongs and injustices in decisions concerning the community. But the humanity of our existence begins there where we say: We shall do no more injustice than is necessary if the community is to live. And this means, writes Buber, that "in every hour of decision anew . . . we must struggle with destiny in fear and trembling lest it burden us with greater guilt than we are compelled to assume."

The Dialogue of Reconciliation

All too often the word "reconciliation" is associated with a sentimental good will that looks away from the very conflict that is to be reconciled, or assumes that, with this or that action or approach, a tragic situation can be transformed into a harmonious one. Martin Buber, in contrast, has pointed again and again to a genuine reconciliation which begins with fully realistic recognition of real differences and points of conflict and then moves to the task of discovering the standpoint from which some real meeting may take place which includes both points of view. For many years Buber has been one of the leaders of Ichud, the association for Jewish-Arab rapprochement founded by Judah Magnes, first president of The Hebrew University. Under the leadership of Buber, Ernst Simon, Simon Shereshovski, the late Rabbi Benjamin, and others, Ichud has protested against Israel's punitive raids, denounced the idea of a "preventive war," protested the many restrictions on the legal and civil rights of Arabs in Israel, and fought to persuade the government of Israel to accept back many of the Arab refugees and to compensate others.

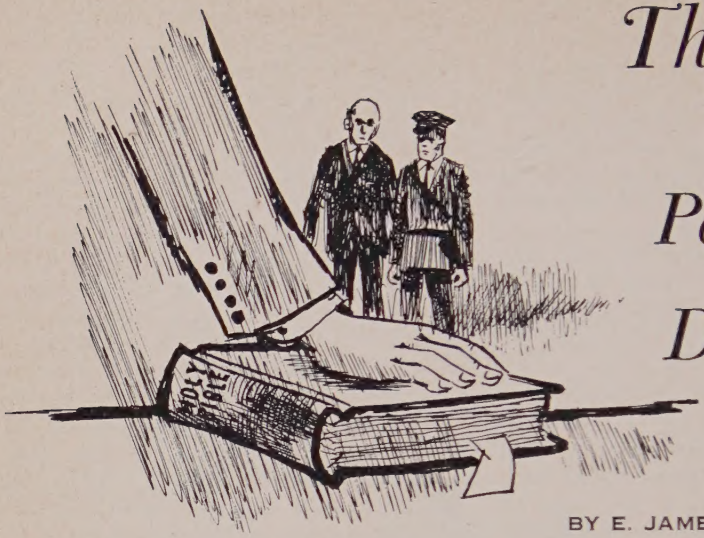
Ichud is at once Zionist *and* dedicated to the betterment of Jewish-Arab relations. Without surrendering the claim of Israel, it has never ceased, in each new situation, to attempt to discover what concrete steps might be taken toward some melioration of the situation, some first step toward communication, some laying of the ground for future cooperation. It is exactly this approach to reconciliation that Martin Buber himself expressed when he wrote a public letter to Gandhi in 1939 answering the latter's statement that Palestine belonged to the Arabs and that it was "wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs." "I belong to a group of people," Buber wrote Gandhi, "who from the time when Britain conquered Palestine, have not ceased to strive for the concluding of a genuine peace between Jew and Arab.

> "By a genuine peace we inferred and still infer that both peoples should together develop the land without the one imposing its will on the other. . . . We considered it a fundamental point that in this case two vital claims are opposed to each other, two claims of a different nature and a different origin, which cannot be pitted one against the other, and between which no objective decision can be made as to which is just or unjust. We considered and still consider it our duty to understand and to honor the claim which is opposed to ours and to endeavor to reconcile both claims.

"Where there is faith and love," Buber concludes, "a solution may be found even to what appears to be a tragic contradiction."*

In Arab-Jewish relations, in the relations of the German people to the Jews who were killed and those who survived, in the conflict between the great camps in the cold war, in his protest against the hydrogen-cobalt bomb and the supremacy of the political principle, in his call for the resumption of genuine dialogue between man and man and between people and people, Martin Buber has been an image of the peacemaker, a peacemaker out of the covenant of peace. "The mountains may depart and the hills be removed," writes Deutero-Isaiah, "but my steadfast love shall not depart from you, and my covenant of peace shall not be removed, says the Lord, who has compassion on you."

* *Pointing the Way*, "A Letter to Gandhi," p. 143f.



The Oath AS A *Political Defense*

BY E. JAMES LIEBERMAN

SINCE THERE ARE some honest people who refuse to take oaths, and there are some liars who gladly take them, the assumption that oaths and truth-telling are inseparable can lead to woeful consequences. If you stop to think about it, oaths don't help a really honest person; but swearing serves a man of weak conviction, or a liar, very well.

Through history the oath persists, a symptom of political dis-ease. A man who won't take a loyalty oath is suspect: "If you are truly loyal, why should you hesitate to swear it?" (Of course, one may just "affirm," in which case the FBI will have to judge without the help of God.) Conversely, sworn testimony becomes a ready tool of intimidation: "You have been accused under oath of improper activities —never mind who accused you." Oaths are effective weapons of political defense, not because they deter any saboteurs, but because they stifle principled political dissent. This effect, the best clue to the underlying purpose of the oath, seems poorly understood today when oaths so thoroughly pervade our nation. According to the National Student Association, at least 30 state governments require loyalty oaths or disclaimers of faculty members and/or students.

Even Harvard University endures an oath to Government. Last fall Harvard quietly rescinded the faculty appointments of two new teachers because they refused to sign the Massachusetts Teachers' Oath, in force since 1935. This oath, like most, seems harmless just as long as everybody signs it; yet it stands as a political condition to which everyone who teaches must submit.

Can a free democracy defend its liberties and have them too? We have outlawed the Communists so that people couldn't vote them in, and more of us are asked to swear that we don't want them in. A challenge becomes a threat when we are insecure. We do not meet the challenge of ideas that communism represents, in part because our internal "security measures" leave most Americans unable to discuss perceptively the challenging issues of our time. In defending against the seeming threat we lose the real point at issue, which persists unanswered and more threatening. We fail to recognize the fact that ancient bastions can't protect us in an age of world-encircling messages and missiles. The loyalty oath—a political defense—detracts from our identity as a nation thriving fearlessly on individual expression of opinion. Misapplied defenses don't allay our insecurity. Anxiety prevails. When defenses block our most mature responses, and confound our identity, then we are sick.

The loyalty oath is a telling symptom. "Swear you'll always love me!" pleads the

anxious virgin. If he does, it's not because he can be certain, but because he wants something badly enough and because he doesn't know how to deal with her anxiety in a more realistic way. Can we blame him? He thinks that if he doesn't swear, he won't get what he wants—even a kiss. And, since she is insecure, she won't be content to know that he loves her now. The fantasy is that swearing will make it so. The reality is that he will change, and she will change, and love itself—like loyalty—will change, and has to be constantly renewed. This is not easy for an immature, insecure person to accept, but when it is understood it is a source of security and maturity. King Lear understood it after Cordelia was dead, and that is the tragedy.

Oaths of marriage and public office are probably as harmless as they are ineffectual. But oaths of political allegiance have a purpose in their growth in numbers and intensity: ". . . and I will oppose the overthrow of the government by force, violence, or by any illegal or unconstitutional method." The fantasy is that this will protect the government from subversives. The reality is that subversives will sign and get away with it. Furthermore, anyone who does not sign—because of religion, individuality, or political awareness—is suspected of disloyalty. Now, in our healthy legal tradition, a man is innocent until proven guilty; but here a man is suspect, even penalized, unless he is willing to swear loyalty.

Who are the oath-refusers? What kind of religion, individuality, or awareness makes a person risk being called "foolish" by his friends, and "suspect" by our anxious patriots? The Quaker faith, for one, takes Jesus at his word when he said it is bad not only to swear falsely, but to swear at all. Again, perhaps an individual resents the implication that his ordinary word isn't binding enough. Perhaps some, aware of the complexities of Constitutional interpretation, are loath to make the blanket promise that the oath entails. Some may remember that the oath was a tool of Henry VIII, Hitler, and McCarthy, aimed at stalwart nonconformists. Whoever are the oath-refusers, they are openly saying "no" to governmental infringement of their right to think and speak: they are exercising conscientiously the freedom guaranteed them by the Constitution. They are forthright, principled nonconformists.

It is ironic that our ferociously armed

August 2, 1959

Secretary to the Corporation
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for informing me of my appointment as Teaching Fellow in Psychiatry. I am honored by it.

Does the Teacher's Oath stand as an impassable barrier to me? The magical, unrealistic nature of oaths offends my judgment, as the requirement to swear offends integrity. An admirer of Dr. Benjamin Rush, I believe that the mental, moral, and social implications of the oath are inconsistent with the best principles of psychiatry and of teaching.

I also believe that we ought to obey laws because they are good, not because they are laws. If everyone who disapproved this oath refused to sign it, no doubt the oath would disappear. I cannot conscientiously perpetuate it.

The oath implies that no one is allowed to teach at Harvard who admits his opposition to these Constitutions—state and national. That a private university should be so bound casts doubt upon its universal character.

As a doctor and a human being I ought to act in accordance with my understanding of what is right, to the best of my ability—reserving the right to err, and so to learn. I therefore return the blank forms of oath in faithful duty to my conscience, without which I am worth less to you and myself.

Respectfully yours,

E. James Lieberman, M.D.

Government should require so many of its citizens to swear they don't believe in violent overthrow. In fact, in the light of current American foreign policy, "support and defend the Constitution" can mean to threaten all mankind with the ghastliest violence ever known! On the other hand, many oaths forbid both violent and nonviolent means of "overthrow"; any government will, in sickness and desperation, make its overthrow illegal and unconstitutional by *any* means. Peaceful direct-actionists like Jesus, Gandhi and Thoreau concern us here: they were also oath-refusers. They taught that humanity is more important than legality, that bad laws ought to be disobeyed—peacefully—if people want to keep their society good. Our courts can check the law against the Constitution when someone disobeys a law with this in mind.

These teachers—Jesus, Thoreau, Gandhi—must be "suspect" when it comes to patriotic loyalty. Like them, the oath-refusers of today risk censure, even deprivation. Maybe they are masochistic. Maybe they are right. The simple reality of the oath is that it singles out these people: active social evolutionaries. Too-hasty patriots will class them with the unloved enemy.

But the loyalty oath does not deter subversives; it penalizes thinking people whose *loyalty* is not so much the issue as their forthright *nonconformity* on principle. Of course, these people may be wrong, but ought they be dealt with as disloyal in a free country? The oath does, and so its spread in any form requires unrelenting opposition, especially by those who value nonconformist liberty. *Surely if all who disapprove of oaths would refuse to take them, the trend would change;* yet even 20 miles from Walden Pond the tenets of Thoreau fall slack before the students' open eyes: their teachers all have signed! *The teachers sign and hope for what may never come without their own example.*

The oath is a strong, insidious defense against political enlightenment, a rigid, socially coercive underpinning of the status quo, keeping rife the sickness of suspicion. Since it is not consistent with the best principles of academic freedom, the oath is a political test of willingness to conform in spite of higher principles.

In summary, the oath is both more and less than it seems. A superficial test of political loyalty, it purportedly—but not in fact—deters disloyal and subversive people. *Actually,* it penalizes those who conscientiously assert their full measure of individual liberty by insisting on the right to be considered loyal unless proved otherwise. Whether the actual effect of the oath is consciously or unconsciously dictated by its users is probably an academic question. In either case, the oath as a political defense is a weapon that misfires, to the overall detriment of the free society.

To remedy this ill we must meet it unafraid and openly and try to understand it; refuse to perpetuate delusions by cooperating with a fantasy; but rather, act according to our understanding so it will be shared. Through understanding we unmask the fearsome threat and face the real challenge. Once freed from inner qualms and hyper-reactivity, we can make mature responses to the issues of our times.

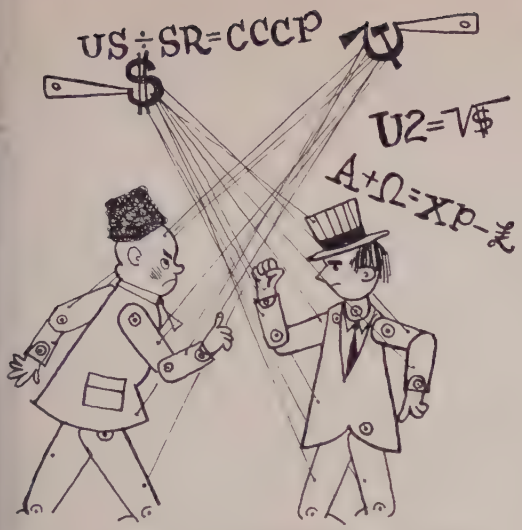
LOYALTY DEPT.: DIVISION UN-WHITE ACTIVITIES

New Orleans, Dec. 10—"Today a telegram was sent by the president of the Louisiana Association of Citizens Councils . . . to Tom Jewell, Speaker of the House in Baton Rouge. It said the Association had 'made a check of license numbers of cars hauling children into Frantz School at New Orleans,' and listed a dozen names, addresses and license numbers.

"These were the identities of white parents and members of the Save Our Schools organization who have been defying both the boycott and the segregationist hecklers to transport children to the besieged school. The wire continued:

" 'We urgently request that you refer these names to the Committee on Un-American Activities of the Louisiana legislature for investigation. . . .' "

—New York Herald Tribune



The Dynamics of Controversy

BY CHARLES E. OSGOOD

THE ESSENTIAL irrationality and danger in our present course is apparent, yet we feel impelled along it. No one wants war in a nuclear age, yet no one seems able to avoid spiraling toward it. Why should this be so? What forces operate in times of controversy between human groups to push ordinary disagreement toward mutual destruction?

Assessment of human values. Nations differ in their calculus of human values. We have already seen one essential difference between Communism and our way of life—the relative value placed upon the rights of the individual as compared with the rights of the state. As the term "value" implies, these conceptions of the good life become the most abstract—yet, in a sense, the most intimate—foci of human motivation. Differences in the assessment of values produce controversy within as well as between nations. The main source of divergent opinions about strategy in the war with Communism lies here. In a recent debate in *The New Leader,* Bertrand Russell maintained that a Communist victory would not be so great a disaster as the extinction of human life, whereas Sidney Hook maintained just the reverse. Whether value conflicts concern religion or politics, men find themselves ready to lay down their lives for what they think is right. The difficulty does not lie in the fact that men have values and defend them, but in two quite different directions: First, values are often held so *insecurely* that we feel threatened when others disagree with us —often to the extent that we would deny them the right to express their views. Second, emotional involvement with our own values often makes it very difficult for us to accept short-term frustration for long-term achievement.

Perspective. In general, as we trace the course of evolution and particularly the development of the cortex, we find higher species capable of maintaining longer delays, employing more extended foresight, and striving for more remote goals. Within each species the more intelligent members display these capacities to a greater degree than the less intelligent. But emotion has the effect of primitivizing this capacity. The motivational conditions of controversy, e.g., our present tensions/arms-race dilemma, are precisely those designed to restrict our perspective. It sometimes proves helpful to back off from a problem and view it within a larger chunk of both time and space. Taking a long view in space, as from a planetary system many light-years away, the events which today are shaking the very fabric of our lives are all transpiring on the knife-thin edge of a little pebble in the sky, and they won't cause the slighest perturbation in the cosmos. Taking the long view through time, one can envisage the interlacing, ever-expanding tree of human life, bearing its generations of ephemeral blooms, yet but little affected by the changing national

Copyright © 1961 by FELLOWSHIP.

climates in its course. The organizations among men we call "nations" come and go—a name may persist and the human content change, or the reverse—and this is as true for what we now call "Russia" and "The United States" as it was for Rome and Babylon. This is not said to minimize the seriousness of our present problems, but rather to emphasize different goals. A wide perspective makes it possible to substitute more remote goals for immediate ones.

The relativity of social judgments. "Man is the measure of all things," it has been said—but surely this is true only to the extent that his science is primitive. One can trace in the development of science a progressive freeing of man's measurements or observations from the arbitrary platform of his own senses. Our social judgments are also made relative to our own position as observer.

Three Stages of Social Thinking

At least three stages can be traced in the development of clear social thinking—in "becoming civilized," if you will. At the simplest, most primitive stage *we unconsciously project our own frame of reference onto others.* Since Ego assumes Alter to share his reference frame, it follows that when Alter calls "straight" what to Ego is obviously "crooked," when he judges "tasty" what to Ego is obviously "distasteful," Alter must be evil, lying, or at least abnormal in some way. The second stage is where *we recognize the relativistic nature of Alter's frame of reference, but not our own.* This produces a more humane approach toward social problems, a "forgive *them* for *they* know not what they do" attitude. We account for the disapproved behavior of others as due to the conditions under which they happened to develop. The third stage is one arrived at with difficulty and maintained with even greater difficulty. It is where *we realize the equally relativistic nature of our own frame of reference.* This is the sensitive—not "ugly" —American who realizes that his own neutral points on the clean-dirty, tasty-distasteful, or even moral-immoral scales are no more "natural" than those of the Mexican or Hindu. Social relativity does *not* mean that there are no external criteria for distinguishing good from bad; quite the reverse, it means that we must search for external criteria just because social judgments are so liable to bias.

Emotion and the restriction of alternatives. Rational behavior requires understanding one's own ultimate goals, weighing the consequences of alternative means to these goals, and then selecting among the alternatives in terms of their success probabilities. Many laboratory and field experiments have demonstrated that animals and humans operating under intense emotion display a reduced awareness of alternatives. A normally intelligent raccoon trying to get out from under a stinging shower will persistently bang its head against a locked door that *used to be open,* completely ignoring free passageways to left and right. *In analogous fashion, nations today are lumbering down the one habitual path to "security"—bigger and better weapons—gathering as they go tensions which make it less and less possible to see other alternatives.* Being habitual, this course is assumed to be "realistic." Anthropologists are familiar with cultures that, through blind adherence to practices that once were realistic, have gradually committed suicide. I think we are in exactly the same spot. We are continuing to practice rites and rituals of international relations that were developed in and appropriate to the past—firmly believing them to be realistic—in a present age that renders them suicidal.

Self-delusion. We expect the normal human being to defend himself against attack —including mental attack. We expect him to try to refute any suggestion that there is anything wrong or evil about himself. But we also expect him to be accessible to facts, pleasant or unpleasant. If he is not, if he refuses to accept reality, then we place him in an institution. Unfortunately, there are no institutions for nations. If a whole group of people, including their leaders, refuse to accept reality, if their communications media consistently paint a self-righteous picture in the face of contrary facts, then there is no court to dispel the dangerous process of self-delusion. Both Russia and the United States—as well as most nations on our globe—have been steadily manufacturing their own versions

f reality. The recent spy-plane incident is remarkably clear instance of this mechanism. Even before the dust of the abortive ummit Meeting had settled, Russians were eing told that they were absolutely white nd Americans were absolutely black, while Americans were being told that *they* were bsolutely white and Russians absolutely lack—each country put full blame on the ther. As those of us who deal with individual humans under stress realize so well, here are seldom if ever absolute blacks nd whites. But in the behavior of nations, we are continually asked to think like worms. Both sides need *intense and thoughtful self-criticism from within,* but the dynamics of mass self-justification make this very difficult to apply—and to support once it has been applied.

Psycho-Logic

Psycho-logic. Human thinking abhors inconsistency. As the process of self-delusion I just described clearly indicates, we continually strive toward attitudinal balance, consonance, and congruity. In the language of our lay philosophy, this is known as "the consistency of little minds"—but unfortunately the same dynamics affect big minds, too, particularly when they are operating under intense emotion. If we like Ike, and he happens to praise some congressman from Timbuktu, it is congruent for us to feel more favorably disposed toward this man, even though we know absolutely nothing else about him. But if Khrushchev were to comment on this congressman's sound ideas—popularly known as the "kiss of death"—then psycho-logically, but not logically, we would probably find ourselves more than a little dubious about this fellow. Similarly, it is psycho-logic, not logic, that leads us to conclude that Nehru must be pro-Communist because he insists on India's neutrality. It is sometimes true, of course, that psycho-logic may lead us to a valid conclusion, but this does not validate the process.

Psycho-logic runs rampant when we try to come to grips with the problems of international conflict. This can be illustrated by applying the Socratic method of questioning to a hypothetical American citizen picked at random. Suppose, says Socrates, that Russian Man were suddenly to junk all of his atomic weapons—would you, American Man, leap to destroy him in a nuclear holocaust? Absolutely not, says American Man—we are only concerned with protecting ourselves, not with destroying others. All right, then, says Socrates, do you think that Russian Man would leap to destory *you* with atomic bombs if you were to lay down your weapons? Here there is a long pause. Finally American Man answers that he doubts if the Russians would do this, but he certainly isn't sure enough about it to take the chance. Furthermore, he adds, Russian Man obviously would take advantage of our helplessness by overrunning the world and making it a tight Communist despotism. But then, asks Socrates, am I to conclude that American Man in the same circumstances would overrun a helpless world and make a capitalistic despotism of it? For goodness sake, American Man replies with a grin, *we* have no imperialist ambitions—and in any case, a world unified under a capitalist system could not be despotic. Shaking his head in puzzlement, Socrates says—all I can conclude is that Russian Man must be somehow intrinsically different from American Man. Of course, the great philosopher would have arrived at the same conclusion had he directed his questions at a hypothetical Russian man-on-the-street.

Abrupt and complete unilateral disarmament by either side is entirely unfeasible. It asks both American Man and Russian Man to think and act in uniquely civilized ways, and human culture is not yet ready for such a big step. Nevertheless, this hypothetical case does serve to draw out what I think is the deepest objection to any non-aggressive solution. This is *the Bogey-man conception of the enemy.* Human groups in conflict have always

created their Bogey-men. What are the dynamics of Bogey-building? It comes down to psycho-logic. Given the belief by each side that WE are *good, kind, fair,* and so on—a necessary and generally valid belief as far as everyday human relations are concerned—and given also the logical opposition between WE and THEY, between FRIEND and ENEMY, psycho-logic dictates that THEY, THE ENEMY, must be *bad, cruel, unfair,* and so on through the opposites of all traits we attribute to ourselves. The failure of the Russians to see eye-to-eye with the United States on many issues, their purges, their atheism and so forth support and strengthen this Bogey-image, while it in turn provides us with a ready explanation of their un-American and anti-American behaviors.

But then we have real, live Russians visiting our homes and farms; we find them *friendly, sociable,* and in many ways just like us. Our own tourists return with reports about how *helpful, cultured,* and *sincere* the Russians they knew were. This puts the attitude system out of balance again. The typical resolution is to break the concept RUSSIAN into two parts: it is the RUSSIAN PEOPLE who are *friendly, sincere,* and *just like us;* the RUSSIAN LEADERS (in the Kremlin) are the *bad, cruel, dangerous* fellows. Psycho-logic thus fosters the hope that soon the *good* RUSSIAN PEOPLE must overthrow their *bad* RUSSIAN LEADERS. No doubt the Russian man in the street wonders why the *good* AMERICAN PEOPLE *just like him* haven't yet begun the revolution against their *bad* CAPITALIST LEADERS!

Many recent travelers to Russia, including statesmen and scholars, have been impressed by the "mirror image" of our own attitudes they find among the people and the leaders there. "Why do you Americans want war?" our informal ambassadors are asked. And when they answer that we most certainly do not want war, the Russians ask "Then why do your leaders prepare for it? Why do they ring us about with missile bases?" When our travelers ask them why they maintain a great army and are building up nuclear weapons for long-range attack, they reply, of course, that we leave them no choice. I believe that we must accept these protestations of good faith as genuine. They blame their aggressive behavior on us just as we blame ours on them.

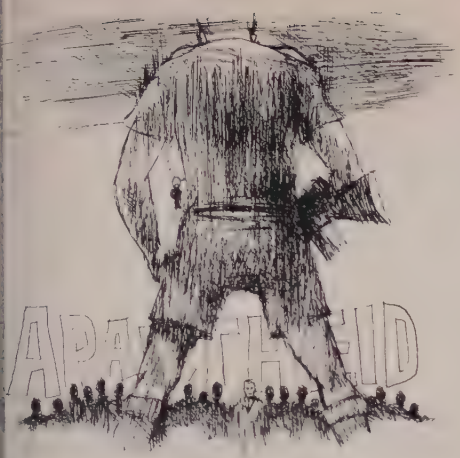
What, then, can we conclude about the Russian Bogey-man? I am sure it would be unrealistic to discount completely the real differences between the Russians and ourselves—particularly those concerning the value of the individual and his rights which stem from our ideological conflict. But, on the other hand, I am equally sure that this Bogey has been overdrawn in the workings of our own mental dynamics—particularly by those who fail to distinguish between Russian Communism and German Nazism. The Russian Bogey surely can be cut down to a more realistic size and shape. Russian perceptions of the present situation, and their reactions to it, may be much like our own; they probably would welcome a way out as much as we would.

THE PENTAGON PLAN FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

"Labor is . . . carefully tied into the military system through the cooperation of the Department of Labor, which supplies the Pentagon with a list of areas where there is unemployment. The Defense Department then offers contracts to firms in these labor surplus areas so as to cut down on the nation's unemployment.

"In 1958 there were 292 areas designated by the Department of Labor as areas of substantial unemployment. The Pentagon in October-December 1958 awarded $3,224,000,000 in contracts of $10,000 or more to firms in these areas of unemployment or a total of over nine billion dollars for the calendar year 1958.

"In discussing this problem, Rep. J. L. Whitten (D.-Miss.) said: 'As long as the employment is tied to military spending and the local economy is dependent upon military bases' spending; it may lead to what we see in the press . . . a competitive situation amongst various members of Congress . . . as to who can be for the highest level of defense spending.' " —John M. Swomley Jr., in **Current Issues,** December 8, 1960



White Resistance in SOUTH AFRICA

BY VERA BRITTAIN

WHITE RESISTANCE to the Nationalist Government takes several forms, by no means all political.

Foremost among its opponents are the Christian Churches, the English-language press (there is a Government-supporting press in Afrikaans), the Province of Natal and especially its University Faculties, the women's organizations, and the Liberal and Progressive political parties. Their combined resistance is "not so underground," as one of its most gallant leaders, 79-year-old Mrs. Eleanor Russell, ex-Mayor of Pietermaritzburg, herself said to me.

The Christian churches (Anglican, Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and Congregational) sometimes combine to resist injustice, as in the Memorandum of the Inter-Church Committee which in 1958 investigated the effect of the Group Areas Act on the Indian community in Pretoria. To an English visitor accustomed to see the Anglican Church discretely ranged on the side of the Establishment its courage in South Africa is most refreshing. From Archbishop Joost de Blank of Cape Town (who is said to have assured Dr. Verwoerd "I will go when you do") to young Bishop Burnett of Bloemfontein, who categorically refused to exclude Africans from his congregations, their witness is equaled only by the serene and persistent multi-racialism of the Roman Catholics.

All these leading prelates court detention, but the Government fears international repercussions, and prefers to penalize the lesser clergy. Every second person I questioned had a different opinion about the Bishop of Johannesburg's decision to escape to Rhodesia after the Sharpeville shootings, but though almost everybody acknowledged the value of his uninhibited testimony, few believed that he would actually have been imprisoned had he stayed.

The anti-Government press includes the Cape *Argus,* the Port Elizabeth *Evening Post,* the Natal *Mercury,* the Rand *Daily Mail,* the Johannesburg *Star,* and the Bloemfontein *Friend.* Bravely the staffs of those newspapers develop their attacks in reports and editorials; their only shield against arrest is the freemansonry of the world press which would undoubtedly sustain them in case of detention. The Editor of the Port Elizabeth *Evening Post,* a member of the Progressive Party, told me that only the fear of his relatively powerful influence kept him out of jail. At the time of writing the Natal *Mercury* is campaigning against the possible consequences of Dr. Verwoerd's Referendum, scheduled for October 5, under the banner headline "NO REPUBLIC," repeated daily.

Resistance in Natal becomes most articulate among the undaunted University teachers who are divided between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. In celebrating the jubilee of the University this year, the dynamic Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Malherbe, brilliantly conceived a novel form of resistance through the criticisms, at a large education conference, of overseas lecturers able to speak even more freely than the Natal professors themselves.

Only when we arrived did we clearly ap-

prehend our destined function as "trouble makers," for which we received an unexpected license from the Governor-General himself, Dr. C. R. Swart, who opened the conference. His attack on the criticisms of South Africa abroad, and his commendation, to the growing accompaniment of coughing, shuffling and finally loud laughter, of his Government's achievements as magnificent and "fantastic" (his actual word), left the visitors free to be as "political" as himself, and we did not fail to respond.

Subsequently Mrs. Russell told me the encouraging story of a Pietermaritzburg music society which, when ordered to exclude Africans from its annual performance of "The Messiah" or lose their yearly official subsidy of £250, decided to forego the subsidy (eventually made up by Maritzburg citizens). Mrs. Russell also showed me a charmingly civilized African village on the outskirts of Maritzburg which she had developed as Mayor. When the Government ordered the Maritzburg Council to evacuate the Africans from these "too luxurious" habitations, it was quietly told that nothing could be done for 30 years since it would take that time for the householders to repay their loans to the Council.

Chief among the women's organizations which maintain their constant courageous resistance to the Nationalist Government are the Black Sash, and the National Council of Women of South Africa. The aims of this movement are the conduct of propaganda for the principles of Parliamentary democracy within the Union and for the observance of political rights and liberties and the political education and enlightenment of South African citizens.

These aims involve public lectures and symposia, recorded for use throughout the country; the permeation of municipal affairs; open opposition to the Pass Laws; and the organization of a Bail Loan Fund to help African women in jail and care for their families. The risks run by the women carrying on this work during the long state of emergency can hardly be overemphasized.

The purposes of the National Council of Women are similar, though its educational methods, so far as I saw them, appear to be less direct. It exercises a powerful influence on men's groups as well as women's; for instance, it played a leading part in the organization of the Natal Education Conference. Mrs. Russell in Pietermaritzburg, Mrs. Barbara Grieve and Mrs. Vera Davie in Cape Town, and Mrs. E. E. Munro in Johannesburg, are among its best-known leaders.

Parties of Opposition

There are now four South African parties opposing the Nationalists—the United Party (the official Opposition), led by Sir de Villiers Graaf; the Liberal Party, inspired by Alan Paton, Patrick Duncan, Editor of *Contact*, and Margaret Ballinger (recently deprived of her seat in Parliament by the abolition of Native Representation); the Progressive Party, to which South Africa's wealthiest citizen, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, belongs; and the very recently established National Union associated with the name of that unique anti-Government Nationalist, Mr. Japie Basson.

Among these four only the Liberal and Progressive Parties can be regarded as coming within the white resistance movement. The United Party strongly criticizes the referendum and makes anti-Republicanism a plank in its platform, but it believes as implicitly as the Government in white domination, and offers the Africans only a less onerous version of apartheid.

The Liberal Party bases its policy upon the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948. It stands for the abolition of the Pass Laws, the eventual abolition of the Reserves, and the extension of the right of franchise to all adult persons, black, white, or colored.

The Progressive Party, while standing for

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 32)

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

Normally, **Fellowship's** Peace Information Edition, published on the 1st and 15th of each month, is devoted to current news and comment. In this issue we present instead a photo story for which space could not otherwise have been found. The regular format of this Edition will be resumed with the next issue.

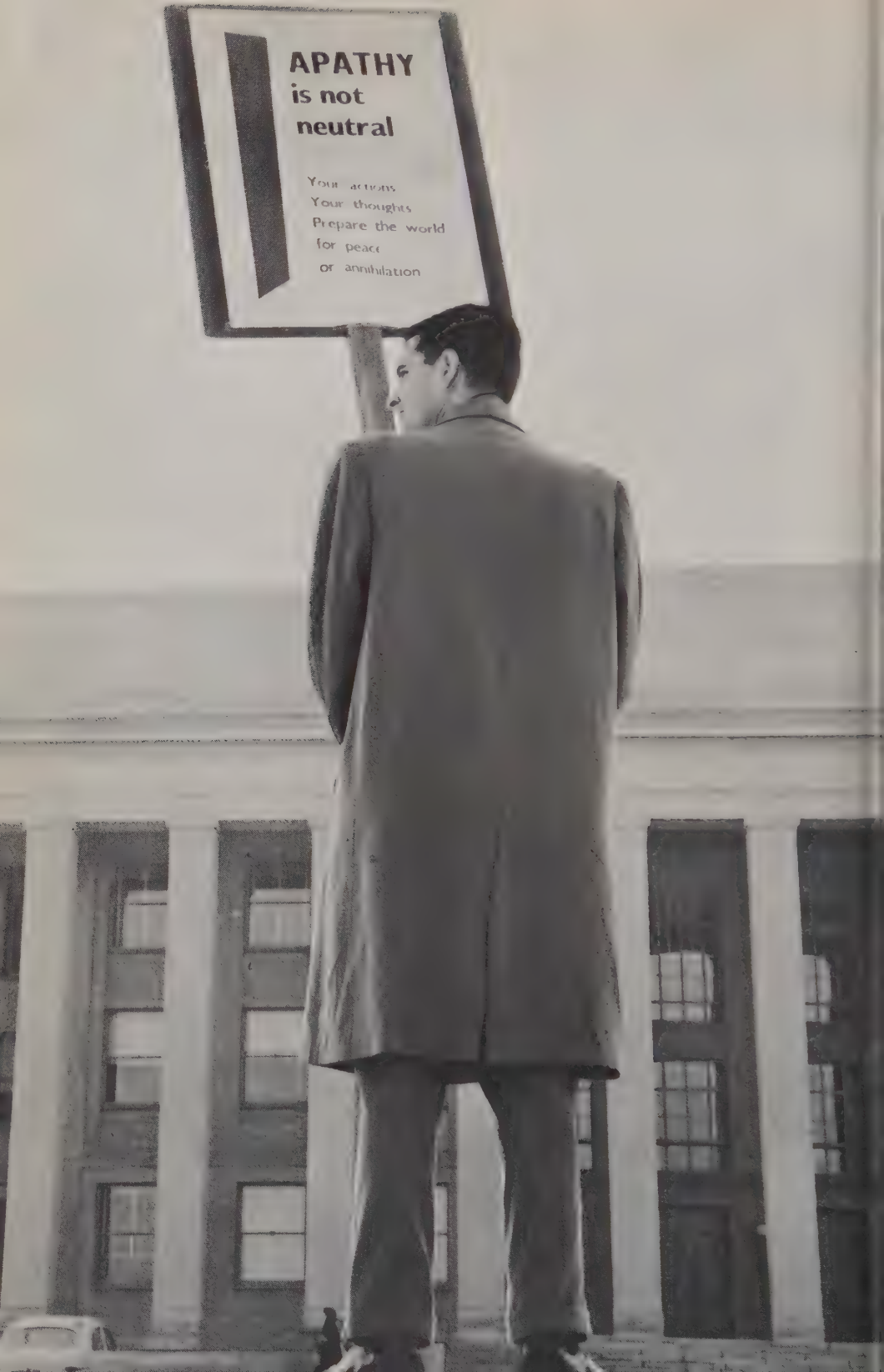
QUAKER
PEACE
WITNESS
1660 - 1960

Over 1,000 Quakers from 28 states gathe
before the Pentagon on November 13-14
reaffirm their opposition to war. Stand
shoulder to shoulder they surrounded
citadel of American military power on th
sides. They came to acknowledge
present-day relevance of a peace testim
made 300 years ago by Quakers to Cha
II. They acted in the urgency of an era t
measures the imminence of doom in
ments instead of millenniums. They voi
this urgency in meetings with embassies,
State Department, and members of Congr
A delegation presented the UN with o
$30,000 in voluntary taxes.

Breaking the respectability barrier. For most participants the witness was a new experience. One Friend remarked, "I felt great reluctance until the moment when we began walking toward the Pentagon. Then I knew in my heart that I belonged in this line."

Pentagon reaction varied. A two-star general remarked cheerfully, "We're working as hard as we can to get what you people want." Others watched thoughtfully from stairways, windows, and automobiles. And at least one soldier passing through the line said quietly, "Keep it up."

Photo story by Matt Herron


APATHY
is not
neutral
Your actions
Your thoughts
Prepare the world
for peace
or annihilation

McCrackin's Conscience AND THE Church

BY VIRGIE BERNHARDT

ON OCTOBER 30, 1960, the Sunday before the first hearing in his current trial by Cincinnati Presbytery, Maurice McCrackin told the story of his life to his congregation, the "beloved community" of West Cincinnati—St. Barnabas Church.

Living in the crowded West End of Cincinnati, Rev. McCrackin is known to his friends and to the congregation of which he is pastor as a quiet, gentle person of extraordinary sensitivity, spontaneous humor, and abundant sympathy. Yet mention of his name may be a source of fear, bitterness or venom. This silver-haired pacifist minister is the fulfillment of the three conditions which William Russell Maltby said were all Jesus ever promised to those who would follow him: to be "absurdly happy, entirely fearless, and always in trouble."

"I was born into the Presbyterian Church," he said that Sunday morning. "Immediately following my father's death when I was three years old, we moved to Monmouth, Illinois. . . . We went to church every Sabbath morning and always sat in pew 19 on the south side of the sanctuary. Sometimes I would go to sleep, my head on my mother's lap and my feet on the lap of my grandfather. . . . I will never forget how I felt in the quiet and reverent atmosphere. . . .

"I was inspired by stories that Mother would tell of two great grandfathers on her side of the house, both of whom had stations in Ohio on the underground railway. . . . Mother's parents were both ardent temperance workers. . . . My grandfather, a farmer, was constantly fighting the liquor interests and . . . was heartily disliked by a number of his neighbors and once in the heat of the battle someone burned his haystack. . . .

"Very early in high school I decided to become a missionary. . . . During college (Monmouth, Presbyterian) I became more deeply committed to nonviolence and pacifism, and upon entering McCormick Seminary in 1927 had become a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. . . .

"After seminary graduation I sailed to Iran where for five years I served in educational work under the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In discussion with the Muslim schoolboys I would tell them about Jesus and would read his words from the Sermon on the Mount. . . . They would ask me why, if Jesus was the Prince of Peace, have his followers been fighting wars in his name all through the centuries. They reminded me of the Crusades when Christians slaughtered Muslims in the streets of Jerusalem until the streets ran red with their blood. . . . And I was ashamed and I promised myself that I would work harder than ever to help restore the peace witness of the early Christian church so that non-Christians will no longer think

of guns, missiles and bombs when they hear a country referred to as a Christian nation. . . ."

The Growth of a Conscience

The events in Maurice McCrackin's life that eventually led him as a Presbyterian to a decision not to pay income tax for military spending are relevant to consider. The charges in this closed trial are charges against conscientious civil disobedience while at the same time conscientious civil disobedience is being supported more and more firmly by the large church bodies, i.e., in the statements of the Presbyterian General Assembly in May 1960 and of the General Board of the National Council of Churches in June 1960.

As the trial sessions progress into the winter, so secret that even the dates cannot be revealed, a judicial commission considers whether this Presbyterian minister, and by implication any other, has the right to follow his conscience when it conflicts with civil law. Conscience has led Maurice McCrackin to not pay income tax, to not walk into the courtroom when summoned, and to serve a prison term.

Maurice McCrackin came to the West Cincinnati—St. Barnabas Church in 1945. The neighborhood was one of great crowding, with a changing population, then about 70% Negro. One of the members tells how Rev. McCrackin began the work in this city where there were no integrated churches, in a humble yet very skillful way, and adds: "Every person is a wonderful person in his sight."

He hoped to found the interracial Findlay Street Neighborhood House, then began to integrate Camp Joy, for underprivileged children, and eventually succeeded in integrating the church. The three institutions have been described as Cincinnati's proudest example of true community help through church activities.

To the residents of the West End, both Negro and white, this church has had a deeper meaning than church has for many. Not only did they develop in depth, but they responded to Maurice McCrackin's consistent practice of love and equality and his belief that the church is not meant only to preach and profess, but that religion must be lived in every action.

Having concluded that, and believing that faith *is* action, Maurice McCrackin felt a growing uneasiness. "Fresh in my mind," he said, "were the bombed cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the crowded, deprived areas of these cities were people working as we were now working in Cincinnati to build a happier, healthier community. . . . The bomb fell and they, their institutions, their community organizations, all were destroyed. . . . I preached about the dangers which the entire world faced. . . . I was preaching, but what was I doing?"

It was in this setting that Maurice McCrackin found he could no longer pay income tax for war purposes.

"If, as a follower, I believed that Jesus would not . . . release the bomb over Hiroshima and Nagasaki . . . I had no choice but to refuse, at whatever personal cost, to support war."

Using the teachings of Jesus as his test of the validity of law or custom brought Maurice McCrackin not only to civil disobedience but it also brought him into a continuous effort to reconstruct community patterns. Nonconformity to custom caused antagonism just as did nonconformity to law.

In 1952 he worked with a Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations to integrate Coney Island Amusement Park and, despite violent retaliation against the committee, eventual integration came about. An attempt to help integrate a school in nearby Hillsboro made him unpopular but resulted in a Supreme Court decision for integration. In 1957 he attended a conference on integration at Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, and was the center of an attack from Governor Griffin of Georgia, the Circuit Riders, and the local American Legion, who attempted to link integration with Communism.

These incidents stimulated much publicity and some slander, but the Cincinnati Presbytery failed at this crucial time to take the moral position of strong support of a minister acting in conscience. It also missed its chance to educate its own people on the implications of Christianity.

In November 1957, Knox Presbyterian Church asked the presbytery of Cincinnati to remove Maurice McCrackin from his

ulpit because of his continued refusal to ay income tax. The presbytery considered, nd in February 1948, while requesting im to pay taxes, it issued a statement aying that "a Christian citizen is obligated o God to obey the law, but when in onscience he finds the requirements of aw to be in direct conflict with obedience o God, he must obey God rather than nan."

Convicted and Imprisoned

In September Maurice McCrackin was rrested by the Federal authorities. Two nours later the Community Chest, which inanced Findlay Street Neighborhood House, panicked, violated its signed agreement, and suspended the Neighborhood House.

After his arrest Maurice McCrackin was arried into court because he would not walk, and he did not stand before the judge. He was convicted of the charge of not cooperating with income tax procedures and served a six-month term at the Federal Prison at Allenwood, Pennsylvania.

During each of these crises the congregation of the church have stood faithfully in support of their pastor. Many have little formal education, yet they express their convictions with amazing clarity.

In October 1959, after his return from prison, the Cincinnati Presbytery issued the following statement of support: "Rev. McCrackin has not broken his ordination vows. It is not the function of the presbytery to collect taxes, and we find the West Cincinnati—St. Barnabas Church and its pastor are bearing a strong witness to Jesus Christ."

However in June 1960, the Cincinnati Presbytery voted to bring Maurice McCrackin to the trial which is now in progress. The formal charges are:

"1. The Rev. Maurice McCrackin has resisted the ordinances of God, in that upon pretense of Christian liberty he has opposed the civil lawful power, and the lawful exercise of it. . . .

"2. He has published erroneous opinions and maintained practices which are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the Church. . . .

"3. He has failed to obey the lawful commands and to be subject to the authority of civil magistrates [All these actions are] contrary to the Constitution of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (Confession of Faith, Chapter 20, Paragraph 4 and Chapter 23, Paragraph 4)."

The paradox of "conflict" which results from doing what one knows to be right is that it brings a strange feeling of quiet happiness. "There has been a release of personal power," said Maurice McCrackin of the work of integrating the church, "happiness that comes from being a free person. Those in the church . . . are constantly witnessing . . . to the 'new life movement at the church.'"

"I felt free," said Maurice McCrackin again in 1959, when he was in the grip of the criminal court. "I could not have walked. I doubt if my feet would have functioned. Had I walked I would have felt I was in prison but in not walking I felt that I was free."

Why the Presbytery Acted

It was with joy and courage that the church was brought into being by the early Christian fathers. Polycarp, who along with Justin Martyr and many others were executed because of civil disobedience to Roman Law, courageously addressed his words, "Away with the atheists," to the wrong people, to the crowd in the arena, just before he was burned on the pyre. Presbyterian leaders John Calvin and John Knox openly refused to abide by evil laws. Robert E. Thompson's *History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* recounts proudly the illegal participation of many of its ministers in the underground railroad. Why has the Cincinnati Presbytery threatened to undermine the witness of one of its most courageous ministers and discarded the historical stand of the church regarding conscience?

1. *Notoriety through the secular press.* The sensational stories have been told, but little has been told to provide understanding o fthe religious meaning of this purely religious witness. Even church people thus misinformed, not being pacifists themselves, have not grasped the

higher meaning, and the presbytery has not given Rev. McCrackin an opportunity to speak before it.

2. *Belief by some that the church must not sanction breaking a law, even an evil one,* that examples of civil disobedience are an encouragement to criminal behavior in general.

3. *Lack of understanding of non-cooperation as a positive action.* Non-cooperation is seen only as a negative gesture and not as a way of communicating with the consciences of those who are participating in an evil.

4. *Failure by some to recognize the fact that McCrackin has paid the price with a prison sentence* and is willing to continue to pay it. It is frequently said by otherwise informed Cincinnatians, "But it is not fair. *I* have to pay my taxes."

5. *Feeling it a loss of dignity to a minister to be carried into court.* One minister friend wrote of his shock; "But it was only momentary, for I was given the grace to see not loss but gain. . . . It is the dignity of Christ, who is willing to be spit upon for what he knew to be the way."

6. *Financial pressures.* In some instances laymen, influenced by the relentless opposition of the local American Legion and the Circuit Riders, have refused to contribute money to the church and denominational causes and, more critically now, to the new Camp Joy building program unless McCrackin is removed.

7. *Reverse logic, common in church bodies, in which inertia is accepted but conscientious action, if it does not conform, is censured.*

8. *Feeling that a minister is out of the fold.* Some ministers feel that Maurice McCrackin is risking a great ministry in devoting so much time and interest to pacifist causes, including time out to serve a prison term. They feel that he is not entirely with them in spirit and yearn to bring him back into the fold. "I wish he didn't exist because he hurts my conscience," one minister said quite frankly. There is in this something of the relationship of the prophet to the priest.

9. *Belief that the morality of a group can be excused for being on a lower plane than individual morality,* that an individual must surrender some of his freedom to follow his conscience when he joins a group. Maurice McCrackin believes with H. R. L. Sheppard that "a church may now be corporately less Christian than the individual Christian."

"The justification of Maurice McCrackin," says Albert Q. Perry, minister of the Universalist Church—City Temple of Cincinnati, "is the value of a saint to the body as a whole. Here is religion incarnate: a man with a medieval lack of logic. Now that he will be imitated by everyone; but his spiritual presence will uplift the whole body."

It remains to be seen whether Cincinnati Presbytery can find its way in judging a man who takes no thought of tomorrow but asks of an action only, "Is it Christian?" Whether it can show enough of the courage, for the way to understand courage is to have courage, just as the way to learn to walk is to walk. It remains to be seen how the Cincinnati Presbytery will interpret Christianity to the people of its own churches and its own city as well as to the world as it writes today's important chapter in church history.

A FAITH THAT OVERCOMES THE WORLD

"'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' Such simple confession may be an answer to the demands or to the threat of hatred. . . .

"We are not Bolshevists, but neither are we anti-Bolshevists. As Jesus' messengers we are there for our neighbors. We are never their enemies. . . .

"Only a few decades ago nothing was more boring than the Church and its message. Today we live in another age: truth is demanded of us; we should rejoice in this even in the midst of our distress."

—Pastor Johannes Hamel, in a lecture to students at the University of Leipzig (East Germany), October 26, 1955.

EIRENE in Morocco

BETWEEN BANANA TREES and pomegranate bushes near the Moroccan village of Aurir, 8 miles north of Agadir, stand three tents. The only luxury furniture is table provided by a nearby French farmer. Clay water jugs, much like those in use a thousand years ago, complete the accommodations. Caron Boyce, a Brethren girl from America, and Annemarie Greub from Switzerland, are busy all day offering first aid to villagers. When our group arrived, shortly after the great earthquake of 1958, villagers soon came asking for medical help. Every day about 80 people come, old and young—among them, mothers who treated their children with cow dung as disinfectant, boys who have been bitten by scorpions.

Boys from the United States, Germany and Canada drive into lonely villages in the mountains to help the villagers reconstruct their cisterns that were damaged by the earthquake. With the cisterns broken, villagers have had to bring water from great distances by camelback or on their own backs.

What motivates these young people to come here and share the simple and hard life of these Moroccans? These volunteers are convinced Christian pacifists who want to give a Christian peace witness to their brothers in Africa by helping them to improve their living conditions and develop their sense of responsibility. EIRENE, International Christian Service for Peace, offers them this opportunity.

EIRENE (Greek word for peace) was founded in 1957 by representatives of the Historic Peace Churches: Mennonites, Brethren and Quakers and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. In its constitution, EIRENE's purpose is expressed as follows: to provide voluntary help in countries suffering political, social and economic tensions as well as in places of need, hoping thereby to contribute to international understanding and world peace. This service of Christian love and reconciliation is open to men and women from various countries and denominations who believe in nonviolence. EIRENE has taken a special interest in Morocco, the North African country which is nearest to the European continent not only geographically but also historically. Morocco welcomes outside assistance and is still open to foreigners.

During its first year and a half, EIRENE had only a very small group of volunteers engaged in the construction of several simple cattle shelters for Moroccan farmers on an agricultural improvement station. After this project was completed, they helped Christian missionaries with the construction of a school for orphans, near a little place called Azrou, close to the Atlas mountains.

Qualifications for Volunteers

At present 15 volunteers serve under EIRENE. They come from the United States, Canada, Germany, Switzerland and Holland, affiliated with different Christian denominations. What are the qualifications required of volunteers?

1) They must be Christian pacifists.
2) They must be prepared to serve a minimum of one year. (It takes some time to adapt to completely different living conditions in Africa.)
3) Besides the willingness to give oneself wholeheartedly to the service, some elementary knowledge of the language spoken in the land of service is necessary as well as some general knowledge in agriculture, handicrafts, medicine or teaching.
4) The service is voluntary and not paid. A maintenance of $25 per month is estimated and a personal allowance of $8 to $10. Both maintenance and allowance, as well as travel expenses, must be provided either by the volunteer himself or by a sponsor (his local church).
5) Maturity! The nature of this service requires a high degree of responsi-

bility, initiative, imagination and tact. The volunteer must be willing to share unit life and to adapt as far as possible to the living standards of the native inhabitants.

For some time a young American Mennonite couple, Marion and Lois Deckert, have been directing the work in Morocco. They live in a house in Rabat where the volunteers meet regularly for fellowship and recreation, exchanging their experiences and opinions. It is hoped that this place will develop into an open center where Christians and Muslims, Westerners and Africans can meet. Besides the group in Agadir there is another group of volunteers, living in the Northeastern part of the country on a lonely farm, close to the Algerian border. The farm owner offered this place for settlement of Algerian refugees. There are some 100,000 refugees in this region, among them 6,000 adolescents. Since the Moroccan people are very poor and unemployment is increasing, these Algerians have slim opportunities to settle or even to find a job. As a result they live in pathetically poor conditions. The chief concern of the EIRENE group is to show the natives how to help themselves.

There are about 70 Algerian men and boys on the farm. A year ago our boys used seeding machines instead of seeding by hand, but the Algerians were skeptical whether the corn actually got into the soil. They preferred to stick to their own method. When the following summer came and the corn was ready for harvest, the difference of the fields was evident, and the Algerians were convinced. The EIRENE group also introduced different kinds of vegetables, new to the Algerians. On weekends they take refugee boys for hikes or for outings down to the beach of the Mediterranean.

On the birthday feast of the Prophet in 1959, thousands of Muslims gathered in Meknès. An unscrupulous merchant, out for profit, mixed cooking oil with lubricating oil and sold it, with the result that some 30,000 people were more or less paralyzed. It is a very sad sight to see entire families hobbling on canes. Many others are still bedridden. EIRENE sponsors a German physiotherapist and a Swiss girl who acts as secretary and interpreter in a rehabilitation center near Meknès. She reported recently that 240 of the 2,000 patients at this center have been cured and released.

The Future Is Promising

EIRENE hopes to expand its program the coming year, and to exert influence on European governments to allow these conscientious objectors to serve in an alternative service project abroad (The governments of Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy and Spain still have no provision for any alternative service of any sort.)

Last year an alternative service law was passed by the West German government. EIRENE applied at once to the Ministry of Labor to be recognized for employing German COs. Projects for COs and other volunteers have already been prepared in Western Germany, mainly in connection with hospitals. A similar project might also serve as a training camp to prepare young men for Morocco. It is hoped that the 1961 year German COs will be called up for alternative service. Until now it has been postponed because of financial and administrative problems.

EIRENE is sponsored by the Mennonite Central Committee and the Brethren Service Commission. The IFOR and British Quakers have also made token contributions. EIRENE's program in Agadir is supported by money and supplies from the World Council of Churches. It acts as distribution agency for the WCC's Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees.

It is hoped that, in future, European peace groups and churches will share the responsibility of EIRENE more actively. The European national FOR groups show a growing interest in its development, and the same is true with IFOR, whose general secretary, E. Philip Eastman, was recently appointed to EIRENE's Administrative Board.

May I ask all of you to keep this very important work in your minds and prayers. In case you would like to help us with volunteers and financial contributions please contact the Executive Secretary:

WILFRIED VON REKOWSKI
Kaiserslautern/Germany
Bruchstrasse 13

BOOKS

Christians and War

RISTIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND ACE by Roland H. Bainton. Abingdon 50. 299 pp., $4.75.

Here is the distillation of many years historical research, lecturing and teach-g. The result is the authoritative book its field. Professor Bainton points out at in general the Christian attitudes have ried between complete pacifism, endorse-ent of the principle of a just war, and iging war as a crusade. The first atti-de, he reminds us, prevailed in the early urch, but with exceptions. Support of st wars arose as the Roman Empire be-me nominally Christian. It drew on pre-iristian Stoic ideals and had the weighty dorsement of Augustine. The crusading irit found warrant in the Old Testa-ent, so we are reminded, and was given pression again and again in the Middle ges, in the wars of religion which ac-mpanied and followed the Reformation, d in World War I. Attempts to regu-te and limit war are noted in the Truce God and the Peace of God in the Mid-le Ages, in the Renaissance humanists, d in the League of Nations and the nited Nations—to all of which Christians ntributed. The rise of the peace churches ut of the Reformation is given due promi-ence. The efforts between World War I nd II to outlaw war are noted. What ainton calls "the ultimate degradation f warfare" was seen in World War II nd the advent of the atomic age.

Professor Bainton rejects the crusade nd the just war as indefensible for Chris-ians and comes out plumply on the side f pacifism. He is clearly not optimistic about the possibility of pacifism prevailing. He sees, rather, the trend in recent history to be toward atomic death. He outlines with complete frankness the challenge to the Christian pacifist. He insists that Christians must not be behind the humanists in voicing pleas for peace. They must do more than say "no" to war. They must be positive and must remember that the concern of the Gospel is for individuals. He is not entirely without hope. But he is clear that the Christian's main objective must not be survival. He is aware that if we renounce power we shall be at a disadvantage. But, he ends: "Are we to renounce honor, shame, mercy, and compassion in order to live? The ancient pagans would not have said so. Did not Socrates declare that to suffer injustice is better than to inflict it? Shall we allow this pagan to take over the virtues which we have been wont to call Christian, while we invoke Christ to justify nuclear annihilation?"

Professor Bainton, as always, writes vividly but with no sacrifice of sound scholarship. He has enriched his book with pertinent illustrations and has added a useful bibliography.

—KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

A Disciple of Gandhi

THE SPIRIT'S PILGRIMAGE by Madeleine Slade. Coward-McCann 1960. 318 pp., $5.75.

It gives me pleasure to review this book because I have known its author, Miss Slade, ever since she first arrived at Gandhi's ashram at Sabarmati in November 1925. I had been there the previous February and was there again from September to the following March. She told me how, in saying goodby to her father, a

AMONG OUR BOOK REVIEWERS. **Kenneth Scott Latourette** is well known as a foremost church historian. His principal work is a seven-volume **History of the Expansion of Christianity.** Dr. Latourette is Sterling Professor of Missions and Oriental History, Emeritus, at Yale University, and a member of the Advisory Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. **Richard B. Gregg,** also an Advisory Council member, is the author of the recently revised book, **The Power of Nonviolence** (Fellowship, $2.50). **John M. Swomley Jr.,** professor of social ethics at National Methodist Theological Seminary, continues to serve the FOR as editor of **Current Issues** (a recent copy will be sent free on request). FOR member **Carl Hermann Voss** is the minister of the New England Congregational Church in Saratoga Springs, N. Y., and the author of **The Universal God.**

retired admiral, he had said to her, apropos of her decision to go to Gandhi, "Now you have chosen your leader, stick with him through thick and thin." Pretty sporting of an old British admiral! Well, she did stick, and as this book reveals, there was lots of both thick and thin for her in the years since then.

The story is well told. Her style is simple, direct and vivid. The title is well chosen. Partly, I suppose, because I know or knew a good many of the people, places and events she describes, her story brings them all vividly to mind. With real power she gives you the feel of events and people.

First, of course, there is the story of her girlhood in England. On her mother's side she had gypsy blood in her veins, and she had an ardent love of nature and dislike of convention or restraint. For this reason she never went to school. She became very fond of music, especially Beethoven. Though her father's official position compelled a certain amount of high society life in London and later in vice-regal circles in India, she disliked it intensely, in contrast to her younger sister.

Her deep response to Beethoven's music led her to visit Romain Rolland, who had recently written a life of Beethoven. Rolland persuaded her to read a little book he had just written about Mahatma Gandhi. That moved her to the depths, and immediately she decided that at all costs she must associate herself with Gandhi. She wrote and asked permission to come to India and join him, after a year of self-discipline—giving up luxuries, sleeping on the floor, learning an Indian language. The permission was granted. Her parents realized the intensity of her resolve and did not oppose her.

When she reached Gandhi's place he immediately put her on manual labor, sweeping out the latrines. It was the first time in her life that she had ever had to do monotonous daily toil for an extended period, and it was hard for her. But she was utterly devoted to him and carefully obeyed every direction. It gradually appeared that her devotion, however, was to him personally as a spiritual leader, while what he wanted of her, as of all his followers, was devotion to the cause of Indian freedom. Because her devotion was so completely to him, he put her at tas in distant places much of the time. B because he wanted the British to reali that his opposition and mistrust was n to them as persons but to the system empire, he took her with him to the Rou Table Conference in London in 1931, attend to his food and clothing.

In the course of the story she quotes often from interesting letters to her fro Gandhi that the book becomes an in mate revelation of the character and mi of Gandhi as well as of herself. This mak her story doubly valuable and doubly i teresting. And of course this perso record from the center of the India struggle is also historically important. T story carries through till about 1958.

—Richard B. Gre

Our Secret Police

Central Intelligence and National S curity by Harry Howe Ransom. Harvar 1958. 287 pp., $4.75.

This is a scholarly but easily read trea ment of the Central Intelligence Agenc It describes the way in which intelligen is gathered and evaluated, surveys the hi tory of American intelligence efforts an details the various United States agencies work in this field.

About 20 percent of United States int ligence is clandestine in nature or espi nage. By law, no information about budge personnel, or salaries of CIA is publishe but it is presumed there are at least 10,00 working for it, besides about 1,500 workin for Army intelligence and still others i other agencies. Hundreds of millions o dollars go into intelligence budgets.

"A handful of Congressional member get occasional briefings on CIA operations but there is no one committee in charg and such data as these few Congressme get are not passed on to their colleagues.

One United States Senator in CIA co fidence, whose attitude is one of not wan ing to hear much of what goes on, has sai that it "almost chills the marrow of a ma to hear about" the clandestine acts o United States CIA agents.

CIA agents are often longer-term em

yees than those in other policy-making cutive positions. They have political t vested interests as do others in govern-nt. "Intelligence agents possessing, or ieved to possess, superior, authoritative owledge, have a kind of power in a crisis ich must be exercised with keen discre-n." The author adds, "The growing nd of professional intelligence experts Washington, increasingly confident of ir product, not unnaturally want to nage the intellectual process by which isions are made."

While clearly a descriptive work, this ok tells enough to be a timely warning out the dangers of secret police agencies th power over foreign affairs.

—John M. Swomley Jr.

Hymns of a Great Pacifist

IE Collected Hymns of John Haynes OLMES. Beacon 1960. 100 pp., $3.95.

After a distinguished career as preacher d prophet, John Haynes Holmes, now in s 81st year, gathers his hymns into a single olume. We can be grateful to him and the acon Press for this handsome book, so stefully printed and beautifully bound. ch hymn, printed on the right-hand ge, is flanked on the left-hand page with brief, often too brief, descriptive para-aph about its composition. The total ef-ct is impressive.

Here are vesper hymns and Christmas rols, protests against child labor and op-ressive working conditions, against wars nd tyrannies and the pride of self and ociety. The greatest and incontestably ost compelling of his hymns is "The Voice f God is Calling / Its Summons Unto len" which he composed in September, 913, on the return voyage from his first rip to Europe, in response to a request rom the Young People's Religious Union n Boston due to meet later that month.

Little wonder that 75 Protestant hymnals, s well as the *Union Hymnal For Jewish Worship*, contain many of these hymns. ersatility and vigor, dignity and majesty re the hallmarks of the hymn of John laynes Holmes. These characteristics nake him and his hymns immortal.

—Carl Hermann Voss

Briefly Noted

The High Tower of Refuge by Edgar H. S. Chandler (Praeger 1959. 264 pp., $6.75) is the story of the Refugee Service of the World Council of Churches and its work. Stress is on concrete situations and case histories illumined by the personal experiences of both refugees and their rescuers. The book makes it clear that communism has contributed to the problem but not to its solution, but there are other obstacles as well. A case in point is a group of Old Believers, members of a Russian Orthodox sect, pushed by the Bolshevik Revolution into Manchuria and by the Chinese Revolution into Hong Kong. When the World Council of Churches succeeded in resettling them in Brazil, rumors were circulated that these devout folk were members of a secret Communist terrorist group! From Franco Spain to Korea runs a chain of broken lives. To heal these lives by deeds of love is the responsibility of Christians, and this book tells what has been done. The final solution of the refugee problem will come when more Christians care enough, both to rescue those in need and to build societies in which war cannot occur.

Transforming Power for Peace by Lawrence S. Apsey (Friends General Conference 1960. 79 pp., $1) draws upon some of the best extant sources on nonviolence and synthesizes them into a brief, eminently readable form. Although written evidently for a Quaker readership, Christians of other denominations will often find that it "speaks to their condition" as well. Some readers may object that the viewpoint is uncritically Gandhian, even when professedly Christian, leading the author to accept too readily Gandhi's view of the Jews under Hitler without considering Martin Buber's rejoinder to Gandhi, and to insist even beyond Gandhi on the universal effectiveness of nonviolent resistence. But these are flaws that can be surmounted in the discussions the book is designed to stimulate. Each chapter of 3-6 pages concludes with a list of provocative questions and suggestions for further reading—most of the latter culled from the recent FOR Bibliography.

—W. R. M.

pamphlet reviews

• *Community of Fear* by Harrison Brown & James Real. 40 pp., single copy free. Order from: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California.

What would happen if a 10-megaton nuclear warhead were dropped in the middle of Los Angeles? According to the authors of this pamphlet everyone in the entire metropolitan area would be wiped out in one way or another. Twenty thousand megatons, distributed over the United States, could destroy the U.S. as a nation. These are some of the prospects of a nuclear war, detailed with remarkable objectivity, clarity and coolness in this important study. Harrison and Real discuss, point by point, the salient facts about the arms race and where it is leading. They weigh judiciously the problem of "stabilizing" the system of nuclear deterrence, asserting that unless this theory is foolproof, "if we follow this path to its end, it is likely that we will perish." Accidental, "catalytic" and limited war are all examined in a similar way.

In a chapter on "Factors Preventing Agreement on Arms Control and Disarmament," we find statements such as these: "Tens of thousands of scientists and technicians have devoted all of their professional lives to the invention and construction of weapons." These people, "the paramilitary—civilian soldiers," can be counted on to back up another group which lacks enthusiasm for disarmament: "There is rather clearly a military elite emerging in the United States which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility toward the Soviet Union and which wields enormous political as well as military power." On a subsequent page: "between one-quarter and one-third of the economic activity of the nation as a whole is based upon the weapons race"—that is, a good deal more than the 10-12 percent of the Gross National Product which goes directly into the defense budget.

The authors suggest no solutions. They simply state the problem. The price of human survival, if the arms race continues, is a mole-like existence in subterranean cities, deep beneath the lethal equipment for attack or retaliation. Even at such a price, the arms race can yield victory for no one.

Reinhold Niebuhr, in his foreword, asserts that the old slogans of "bargaining from strength," etc. (which were his own slogans until recently) "have become irrelevant."

There is not a pacifist among the consultants listed in this pamphlet, who include Henry R. Luce, A. A. Berle, John Courtney Murray S. J., and others. *Community of Fe* is therefore of importance not only for contents but also as a token of the growi awareness and concern that is spreading fi outside the pacifist circle. Pacifist readers c use it both to enhance their own understan ing of the dimensions of the problem and a talking point in discussion with people w think along the lines of Niebuhr and his as ciates.

• *Common Sense in Defense* by Stephen Kin Hall. 48 pp., 35¢. Order from: Fellowsh Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Commander King-Hall scores again! This a compact summary of the views he presente in detail in his book, *Defense in the Nucle Age* (Fellowship $2.75). In brief, this di tinguished military analyst is unambiguou in his loyalty to the West and its democrat values, but believes that to defend them wit nuclear weapons or to forestall aggressi through deterrence is an obsolete, self-delu ing strategy. In its place King-Hall propos unilateral nuclear disarmament coupled wit training for mass nonviolent resistance, t meet the contingency of invasion by Com munist forces. Those who might regard thes proposals as "utopian" should consider th fact that King-Hall has discussed them wit top-ranking British generals, has lectured o them to the Royal United Service Institutio and has earned for them a respectful hearin from leading military writers like B. H. Liddo Hart. In the United States, he has receive plaudits from such men as Edward R. Mu row, Walter Millis, C. Wright Mills, Eri Fromm, William Davidon and David Rie man. *Common Sense in Defense* is an exce lent introduction to his attempt to "brea through the thought barrier" in militar strategy. It is of interest to pacifists becaus having got through that barrier on strateg rather than moral cogency, King-Hall lan on essentially the same ground on which th pacifists have been standing for some time

• *The Campus Protest Against ROTC* b Allan Brick. 24 pp., 10¢. Order from: Fellow ship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

This study of the struggle against milita ism in American colleges was to have a peared as an article in FELLOWSHIP bu grew, in the writing, to greater length tha even a longish article. None of the growt is flab; this is a sturdy, well-researched an documented account of the origins of th Reserve Officers Training Corps and th growing opposition to it. Allan Brick is a

lish instructor at Dartmouth College, one he founders of what is now the Student e Union, and a member of the FOR Na- al Council. The pamphlet is a happy bination of sound scholarship and a flu- and lucid style of writing. Its subject ter, however, is not so happy, for it makes r the noxious influence of ROTC-borne octrination and regimentation upon stu- ts who should be receiving a liberal educa- that should both liberate and educate. k concludes on a bright note by sug- ing that the proposed Point Four Youth ps might be a viable alternative which ld channel today's renascent campus re- ion against ROTC into meaningful peace ion. If the campus protest moves forward, it owe something to Brick for stating the is- so well, and to the American Friends ice Committee for producing his pam- et.

Unfinished Revolution by Tom Kahn. 64 . 50¢. Order from: Fellowship Publications, x 271, Nyack, N. Y.

The "revolution" here is the nonviolent uggle for racial equality epitomized by the in movement. This pamphlet outlines the ins and places them in the context of other nts in Negro history. It sees them as the st and most significant step in the march freedom, and looks to a voter registration mpaign and "political realignment" as the xt steps. By the latter, the author means marily a housecleaning of the Democratic rty that would oust the reactionary white premacists and big-city machines—or, as an ernative, that would carry labor, the Negro d the small farmer out of the Democratic d into a party of a different name. In either se, the aim is a new liberal-labor party t would genuinely represent the aspira- ns of Negroes and all men of good will, d would reconstitute partisan politics in the S., which have become hamstrung by the visions and ambiguities within the Demo- atic Party. The idea is not new, but it kes on new relevance in conjunction with orts to win the ballot for disfranchised egroes in the South, who will have scored hollow triumph if their nonviolent struggle oduces nothing more than the right to rub- rstamp this or that enemy of civil rights. *Unfinished Revolution* by no means advocates andoning nonviolent direct action in favor political action, but seeks to relate the o and also to press forward with the sit-ins terms of "filling the jails" rather than es- blishing legal cases that slow the move- ment. Included are forewords by James M. awson Jr. and Norman Thomas.

• *The Big Hand in Your Pocket.* 31 pp., 25¢. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Facts and figures are the language of this new pamphlet prepared by the staff of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. It will tell you how much the U.S. military establishment costs in exact figures, in per capita terms and in comparison with UN

timely pamphlets

BY JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

These brief pamphlets, reprinted from **FELLOWSHIP, Motive** and **The Progressive,** present stimulating ideas and facts about some of today's most urgent issues, as seen by Dr. Swomley, FOR Foreign Affairs Consultant and editor of **Current Issues.**

Myths About Communist China—5¢
America Needs a Revolutionary Strategy—5¢
The Case for Disarmament—5¢
The Growing Power of the Military—10¢
Universal and Unilateral Disarmament—5¢

ALL FIVE FOR 25¢

Quantity prices on request

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
Box 271, Nyack, New York

1961

peace and civil rights calendar

Dedicated to the heroic students of the southern sit-in movement

An appropriate and inexpensive holiday gift for appointments

- 8" x 8" double-page spread for each week
- 53 quotations from sit-in leaders
- dates of sit-in demonstrations
- dates lunch counters were integrated
- legal and religious holidays

Price: $1.25; $7 for 6 postpaid, anywhere

Order early from:

War Resisters League, Dept. F
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N. Y.

programs, and gives details on its allocation. It states that about 10% of the U.S. labor force is dependent on military expenditures, that 50.6% of military contracts are filled by twenty companies, some of whom are dependent on the government for as much as 80%-99.6% of sales. Tables list percentage of military prime contracts, number of military personnel and civilian employees and estimated payrolls in each state of the U. S. Other bits of information include the number of retired officers employed by ten ranking defense contractors, stability of defense shares on the stock market, samples of sheer waste (25¢ lamp sockets sold to the Navy at $21.10 each, for instance), and a run-down on military bases in billions of dollars and thousands of square miles. For the skeptic, there are no less than 94 footnotes to substantiate these facts, mostly from official U.S. documents. This pamphlet is a boon for those who have not had time to study such books as C. Wright Mills' *The Power Elite*. For those who have, as well as those who have not, *The Big Hand in Your Pocket* is a virtual arsenal for the struggle against militarism.

ADVERTISEMENTS

FINE PRINTING—books, pamphlets, church publications a specialty. Armstrong Hunter, Milford, New Hampshire.

Give full time for nonviolent revolution. Age, sex, race, education, no barrier. Maintenance plus opportunity for study. Write Kern, 79 Douglass, Brooklyn 31, N. Y.

WHITE RESISTANCE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16)

the abolition of the Pass Laws and of i flux control, and espousing a Bill of Righ seeks to temper the wind to those mo cautious reformers who find the Liber polity too drastic. For "one man, on vote," they propose to substitute a franchi based on a "civilization test" (not y clearly defined) for all citizens, and pla to carry out a complete reform of th South African Constitution and to crea a multi-racial society without color pr udice.

The success of either the Liberal or th Progressive Party could eventually me a multi-racial South Africa dominated b non-white voters. In the present ten condition of South African politics it possible that the less direct opposition the churches, the English press, and th liberal-minded academic teachers who a by no means confined to the University Natal, may affect public opinion with the Union more quickly and fundame tally. In any case, a great responsibili lies upon the articulate world outsi South Africa to support by every means i its power these courageous and muc hampered white minorities.

THAT MEN MAY LIVE ... in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

FELLOWSHIP INDEX 1960

te: Number following month (e.g., Jan 5) indicates *page number in* bimonthly edition; PIE dicates semimonthly Peace Information Edition and number (e.g., PIE Jan 1) denotes *date*, t page. Titles of articles appear in CAPITALS, titles of books reviewed are in *italics*. Titles rked with an asterisk (*) appeared in "A FELLOWSHIP Sampler" in the May 1 issue and are rints of articles that first appeared in former years.

cording to Andrew, Frank R. Hancock, rev'd an 31
ker, Maxine (photo), May 40
ams, Robert T., PIE Aug 1
dams, Jane, PIE Jul 1
APE IN TOKYO, Paul Peachey, Nov 10
r Force Training Manual, Mar 3f, PIE Apr 1
gerian War, PIE Dec 15
e Alienation of Modern Man, Fritz Pappenheim, rev'd Sept 33
l Men Are Brothers, Mahatma Gandhi, rev'd Mar 33
tbach, Philip, PIE Jul 15
merican Civil Liberties Union, PIE Oct 15, PIE Nov 15
merican Protestantism and Social Issues 1919-1939, Robert Moats Miller, rev'd Mar 30
merican Legion, Jan 2, Mar 2
ntarctica Treaty, PIE Oct 15
ti-Semitism, PIE Jan 15
my Information Digest, PIE May 15
rvio, Raymond (photo), PIE Jun 15
tomic Energy Commission, PIE Feb 1, PIE Feb 15, PIE Mar 1

ainton, Roland H., THE WILL TO PEACE, Nov 13
aldwin, Hanson W., Mar 1f
anneker, Benjamin, PLAN OF A PEACE OFFICE FOR THE UNITED STATES, May 27, Jul 35
arnet, Richard J., *Who Wants Disarmament?*, rev'd Nov 25
eall, Hayes, PIE Sept 15, PIE Nov 1, PIE Nov 15
EHIND THE SIT-INS, Lillian Smith, Jul 4
enson, Mary, *The Tragedy of Apartheid* (pamphlet), Sept 34
ernhardt, Virgie, THE TRIAL (poem), Nov 12
est, Ruth, rev *John Greenleaf Whittier, Fighting Quaker*, Mar 33
ngelow, Albert, *The Voyage of the Golden Rule*, rev'd Jan 27
big hole" theory, PIE Feb 1
irth control, Jan 3f
lamires, E. P., *War Tests the Church*, rev'd Mar 34
lood, Robert O. JR., STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE, Nov 30
olinger, Dwight L., TO THE FATHER OF THE BOMB (poem), Nov 9
orn, Prof. Max (quoted), Sept 4
oulding, Kenneth, DISARMAMENT (poem), Sept 24
owles, Gilbert, PIE Nov 1
ranscomb, Harvie, PIE Mar 15, PIE Apr 1
rick, Allan, THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT FOR TODAY, Mar 14
ritish Labor Party, Nov 8, PIE Oct 15
rittain, Vera, *PACIFISM AFTER MUNICH, May 44
rown, Edmund G., A MATTER OF CONVICTION, Jul 14
rown, Robert M. (quoted), PIE Sept 15
rown, Mrs. Rudd, PIE Nov 1
ryant, Alice Franklin, COME OUT OF YOUR IVORY TOWER!, Jul 11
uber, Martin, *Paths in Utopia*, rev'd Nov 32; *The Way of Man According to the Teaching of Hasidism* (pamphlet), rev'd Jul 34
undy, Edgar C., PIE Oct 1, Nov 1f
uttrick, George A., *Sermons Preached in a University Church*, rev'd Jan 32

BR weapons, PIE Mar 15, PIE Apr 15, PIE Nov 15
adbury, Henry J., QUESTIONS TO A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR AND ANSWERS, 1679, May 29; Jul 35
alkins, Dorothy (photo) May 40
alkins, Ken, THE STUDENT PEACE UNION, Mar 5

"Camp Farthest Out," Sept 2
Campaign for Disarmament, PIE Oct 1
Camus, Albert, *Reflections on the Guillotine*, rev'd Mar 34
Capital Punishment, Mar 34, Jul 14, PIE Jul 15, PIE Sept 1
Carette, Abbé Paul, NONVIOLENT SAINTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, Mar 10
A Case History of Hope, Flora Lewis, rev'd Jul 31
Castro, Fidel, PIE Aug 1, PIE Nov 1
Catholicism, PIE Sept 15
Chandy, K. K., THE PACIFIST ROLE IN THE KERALA ELECTIONS, Jul 28
*CHICKEN IN THE BOTTLE, Josephine W. Johnson, May 52
Childs, Marquis, PIE Feb 1
Chisholm, Brock, BOTULINUS: ONE OF MANY BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, Jan 8
Christian Ethics and the Dilemmas of Foreign Policy, Kenneth W. Thompson, rev'd Jul 29
CHRISTIAN LOVE IN HISTORY, Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Jan 21
A Church, a School, Ralph McGill, rev'd Sept 33
civil defense, PIE Dec 15
Coblentz, Stanton A., *The Long Road to Humanity*, rev'd Jan 32
COME OUT OF YOUR IVORY TOWER!, Alice Franklin Bryant, Jul 11
Committee for Nonviolent Action, PIE Jan 1
Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare, Bertrand Russell, rev'd Jan 28
Congo, PIE Aug 1, PIE Aug 15
Congress of Racial Equality, PIE Jan 1, PIE Feb 15, PIE Mar 1, PIE Jul 15, PIE Sept 1, PIE Sept 15
Conviction, ed. Norman MacKenzie, rev'd Sept 25
Cousins, Norman (quoted), Jan 4
Cracking the Color Line (pamphlet), Jim Peck, rev'd Jul 34
CRIME AND CONFORMITY (rev *Who Are the Guilty, The Problem of Delinquency, Understanding and Preventing Juvenile Delinquency, The Society of Captives*), Alfred McClung Lee, Jul 26
Crusade Against Poverty, Mar 26, PIE Jul 1, PIE Aug 1
Cuba, PIE Aug 1, PIE Aug 15, PIE Sept 1; FOR statement on, PIE Nov 1

Dahlberg, Dr. Edwin T., PIE Oct 1
DARE WE DISARM?, Bertrand Russell, Sept 5
Davidson, John F., WARP (poem), Jul 27
Davis, Jerome, *On the Brink*, rev'd Jan 29
Defense in the Nuclear Age, Stephen King-Hall, rev'd Jan 26
DISARMAMENT (poem), Kenneth Boulding, Sept 24
Dolci, Danilo, *Report From Palermo*, rev'd Mar 26, PIE Jan 1, PIE Jul 1, PIE Aug 1
Dying We Live, Helmut Gollwitzer, Käthe Kuhn, Reinhold Schneider, rev'd Sept 33

Early, Ruth (photo), May 37
East, P. D., *The Magnolia Jungle*, rev'd Sept 30
The Ecumenical Movement and the Faithful Church (pamphlet), John Howard Yoder, rev'd Sept 34
Ensley, F. Gerald (quoted), Nov 3
EVANGELIZE THE VET, George J. Fallon, Sept 29
Everett, Glenn D., & John Noble, *I Found God in Soviet Russia*, rev'd Jan 30
EXPOSE (poem), Leo Hamalian, Jul 13

THE FACTS ABOUT "CBR" WEAPONS, Jan 6
Fallon, George J., EVANGELIZE THE VET, Sept 29
fallout shelter, Sept 3

Fitzhugh, Jewell Kirby, I TAUGHT IN ARKANSAS, Sept 21
Flanagan, Ross, PIE Jan 15
Foreman, Kenneth J., *Why Did God Create the Races?* (pamphlet), rev'd Jul 34
Foreman, Lloyd A., PIE Dec 15
FOR national office (photo), May 34, staff (photo) May 37, Reorganization, PIE May 15
Fort Detrick, PIE Jan 15, PIE Feb 1, PIE Aug 1
Foundations of the Responsible Society, Walter G. Muelder, rev'd Jan 30
French COs, Nov 2f, PIE Dec 15
French intellectuals, PIE Oct 15, PIE Dec 15

Gabrielle, Mrs. Orlando, PIE Dec 15
Gaitskell, Hugh, PIE Oct 15
Gandhi, Mahatma, *NON VIOLENCE AND THE INDIAN CRISIS, May 29; All Men Are Brothers, rev'd Mar 33; PIE Jun 1
Geismar, Maxwell, rev *The Magnolia Jungle*, Sept 30
George Fox and the Quakers, Henry van Etten, rev'd Nov 33
germ warfare, Jan 5ff
Germany, Nov 5
Getting Rid of War (pamphlet), A. J. Muste, rev'd Sept 34
Gillette, Arthur, MARCHING TO LONDON, Jul 9
Glynn, Joseph Jr., PIE Jan 15, PIE Jul 15
Goldfinch, Sidney, PIE Oct 15
Goldstein, Rev. Israel, PIE Nov 1
Gollwitzer, Helmut, THE NEW PACIFISM, Sept 9; *Dying We Live*, rev'd Sept 33
The Gospel and Christian Education, D. Campbell Wycoff, rev'd Jan 32
Gonzales, Raymond Jr., PIE Jul 15, PIE Aug 1
Goto, Bishop David Makoto, PIE Jul 1
Graaf, Prof. Hannes de (quoted), PIE Jan 1
Gussner, Robert (photo) May 39, PIE Sept 1, PIE Oct 1

Halasz, Nicholas, *Nobel*, rev'd Mar 33
Hamalian, Leo, EXPOSE (poem), Jul 13
Hamer, Lois (photo) May 40
Hamilton, David, PIE Jul 15
Hammarstrom, Eric C., PIE Dec 15
Hancock, Frank R., *According to Andrew*, rev'd Jan 31
Hassler, Alfred, NEARING THE HALF-CENTURY MARK, May 17; rev. *One Hour*, (photo) May 38
Hefner, William K., PIE Aug 15
Helms, Charles, PIE Aug 1
Hester, Hugh B., rev *Defense in the Nuclear Age*, Jan 26
Highlander Folk School, PIE Mar 1, PIE Jul 15, PIE Sept 15
High School Seminar (photo), May 36
HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS ACT FOR PEACE, Brewster Kneen, Sept 28
Hiroshima Day, PIE Jun 1, PIE Jun 15, PIE Aug 1
Holberg, Ruth Langland, *John Greenleaf Whittier, Fighting Quaker*, rev'd Mar 33
Holmes, John Haynes, *ST. FRANCIS AND THE INFIDEL, May 46
Holy Loch, PIE Dec 15
Hughes, Robert E., PIE Sept 15, PIE Oct 1, PIE Oct 15
Humphrey, Senator Hubert, PIE Feb 1, PIE Mar 15, PIE Jul 1
Hunter, Stanley Armstrong, PIE Feb 1

I Found God in Soviet Russia, John Noble & Glenn D. Everett, rev'd Jan 30
Impatient Giant, Gerald Clark, rev Jul 29
Invitation to Theology, Allen O. Miller, rev'd Jan 32
Internes in Nonviolence (photo), May 34
I TAUGHT IN ARKANSAS, Jewell Kirby Fitzhugh, Sept 21

Japan-U.S. Pact, Nov 10; PIE Feb 15, PIE Jun 15, PIE Jul 1
John Greenleaf Whittier, Fighting Quaker, Ruth Langland Holberg, rev'd Mar 33
Johnson, Byron L., LESSONS FROM A LIFE, May 4; PIE Mar 1, PIE Aug 15, PIE Sept 15, PIE Oct 1, PIE Oct 15, PIE Nov 1, PIE Nov 15
Johnson, Josephine W., *CHICKEN IN THE BOTTLE, May 52
Jones, Charles, PIE Oct 1

Kagawa, Toyohiko, PIE Jun 1
Kastenmeier, Robert W., PIE Jan 15, PIE Feb 1
Kennedy, John F., PIE Sept 15, PIE Nov 15
Kepler, Roy C., PIE Sept 1
Khrushchev, Nikita S., PIE Jun 1
KIERKEGAARD, JESUS AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD, Wendell Thomas, Mar 25
King, Alexander, May 2
King, Martin Luther Jr., PIE Jan 1, PIE Jan 15, PIE Feb 1, PIE June 15, PIE Nov 1, PIE Nov 15
King, R. Edwin, PIE Aug 1
King-Hall, Stephen, THE NUCLEAR DETERRENT, Nov 25
kneel-ins, PIE Aug 15, PIE Sept 1, PIE Oct 1, PIE Oct 15, PIE Nov 1
Knieriem, August von, *The Nuremberg Trials*, rev'd Jul 31
Knowles, Mrs. Mary, PIE Sept 1, PIE Mar 1
Koinonia Farm, PIE Oct 15, PIE Nov 15
Kuper, Leo, *Passive Resistance in South Africa*, rev'd Mar 26

Labor and the Cold War (pamphlet), Stewart Meacham, rev'd Mar 34
Laubach, Frank C., *The World is Learning Compassion*, rev'd Jul 30, Sept 2f
Lawson, James M. Jr. (photo) May 40; PIE Mar 15, PIE Apr 1, PIE Apr 15, PIE Jun 15, PIE Jul 1, PIE Sept 1, PIE Sept 15, PIE Oct 15
Lee, Alfred McClung, CRIME AND CONFORMITY (rev *Who Are the Guilty?*, *The Problem of Delinquency*, *Understanding and Preventing Juvenile Delinquency*, *The Society of Captives*). Jul 26
Lens, Sid, THE "NEW LEFT" GROPES FOR MEANING (rev *Conviction*), Sept 25; rev *Labor and the Cold War* (pamphlet), Mar 34, PIE Aug 1
LEO TOLSTOY AND THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT, Hendrik van Oyen, Nov 21
LESSONS FROM A LIFE, Byron L. Johnson, May 4
Lewis, Flora, *A Case History of Hope*, rev'd Jul 31
Litherland, Alan (quoted), PIE Nov 1
Livermore Laboratory, PIE Sept 1
Lodi, Henry, PIE Dec 15
The Long Road to Humanity, Stanton A. Coblentz, rev'd Jan 32
Luce, Henry R., PIE Jul 15
Lund, Diderich H., *PACIFISM UNDER THE OCCUPATION, May 60
Luthuli, Albert, PIE Apr 15

MacKenzie, Norman, ed. *Conviction*, rev'd Sept 25
Maclachlan, Lewis, PIE Jun 1, PIE Sept 15
Macy, Paul G., PIE Nov 1
The Magnolia Jungle, P. D. East, rev'd Sept 30
Manuilsky, Dimitri, Jan 2f
MARCHING TO LONDON, Arthur Gillette, Jul 9
Martin, Donald, PIE Dec 15
Martin, William R., PIE May 15, PIE Jul 15
A MATTER OF CONVICTION, Edmund G Brown, Jul 14
Mayer, Milton (quoted), May 5
McCrackin, Maurice, Nov 12, PIE Jul 15, PIE Oct 15
McCulloch, Margaret C., TONIGHT (poem), May 43
McGill, Ralph, *A Church, a School*, rev'd Sept 33
McNeil, Gelston, rev *Report from Palermo*, Mar 26
Meacham, Stewart, *Labor and the Cold War* (pamphlet), rev'd Mar 34
Mennonites, Nov 35
Meyer, William H., PIE Nov 1, PIE Nov 15
THE MIGHTIER PEN, William Robert Miller, May 21, Jul 35
Miller, Robert Moats, *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939*, rev Mar 30
Miller, William Robert (photo) May 36; THE MIGHTIER PEN, May 21; ed. A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NOTABLE BOOKS FOR PACIFISTS, Mar 21; rev *According to Andrew*, Jan 31; rev *The Alienation of Modern Man*, Sept 33; rev *All Men Are Brothers*,

Mar 33; rev *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939*, Mar 30; rev *A Church, a School*, Sept 33; rev *The Gospel and Christian Education*, Jan 32; rev *Invitation to Theology*, Jan 32; rev *The Long Road to Humanity*, Jan 32; rev *Nobel*, Mar 33; rev *Peter Maurin: Gay Believer*, Mar 34; rev *Power Among Men* (film), Jul 32; rev *Reflections on the Guillotine*, Mar 34
odern Community Developers Inc., PIE Jan 15, PIE Feb 1
odern War and the American Churches, Ralph Luther Moellering, rev'd Mar 32
oellering, Ralph Luther, *Modern War and the American Churches*, rev'd Mar 32
oore, Frederick L., PIE Jan 1
orals and Missiles, ed. Charles S. Thompson, rev'd Mar 31
orray, Joseph P., *Pride of State*, rev'd Sept 32
orrissett, Ann, rev *Passive Resistance in South Africa*, Mar 27
uelder, Walter G., *Foundations of the Responsible Society*, rev Jan 30
uste, A. J. (photo) May 32; NUCLEAR PACIFISM AFTER THE SUMMIT, Nov 4; PACIFISM ENTERS A NEW PHASE, Jul 21; THE SOUND OF THE TRUMPET, May 11; *Getting Rid of War* (pamphlet), rev'd Sept 34; May 1f, May 4, PIE Apr 1, PIE Sept 1; PIE Nov 15
Y ADVENTURE IN PACIFISM, John Nevin Sayre, May 7

ational Council for Prevention of War, May 25, Jul 35
EARING THE HALF-CENTURY MARK, Alfred Hassler, May 17
elson, J. Robert, PIE Jun 15, PIE Jul 1
eumann, William L., rev *The Nuremberg Trials*, Jul 31, rev *On the Brink*, Jan 29
HE NEW PACIFISM, Helmut Gollwitzer, Sept 9
ew Orleans, PIE Dec 15
ews and Views, PIE Oct 1
HE "NEW LEFT" GROPES FOR MEANING, Sid Lens, Sept 25
iebuhr, Reinhold, Mar 3f
iemöller, Martin, PIE Jul 11
ixon, Richard M., PIE Sept 15
obel, Nicholas Halasz, rev'd Mar 33
oble, John, and Glenn D. Everett, *I Found God in Soviet Russia*, rev'd Jan 30
oel-Baker, Philip J., PIE Feb 15
on-Violent Civil Action (France), PIE Dec 15
ONVIOLENT SAINTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, Abbé Paul Carette, Mar 10
HE NUCLEAR DETERRENT, Stephen King-Hall, Nov 25
UCLEAR PACIFISM AFTER THE SUMMIT, A. J. Muste, Nov 4
uclear Test Scoreboard, PIE Oct 1
he Nuremberg Trials, August von Knieriem, rev'd Jul 31
uttall, Geoffrey F., CHRISTIAN LOVE IN HISTORY, Jan 21

ne Hour, Lillian Smith, rev'd Jan 31
On the Beach," PIE Feb 15
n the Brink, Jerome Davis, rev'd Jan 29
HE ORDER OF THE OLIVE AND THE LAMB, Douglas V. Steere, May 5
tto, Richard G., PIE Jul 15
utside the Camp, Charles C. West, rev'd Sept 33

acifica Foundation, PIE Feb 1
PACIFISM AFTER MUNICH, Vera Brittain, May 44
ACIFISM ENTERS A NEW PHASE, A. J. Muste, Jul 21
HE PACIFIST ROLE IN THE KERALA ELECTIONS, K. K. Chandy, Jul 28
PACIFISM UNDER THE OCCUPATION, Diderich H. Lund, May 60
age, Kirby, *THE UNITED FRONT, May 42
appenheim, Fritz, *The Alienation of Modern Man*, rev'd Sept 33
assive Resistance in South Africa, Leo Kuper, rev'd Mar 26
asternak, Boris (letter), Nov 22
aths in Utopia, Martin Buber, rev'd Nov 32

Paths to Freedom Through Nonviolence (pamphlet), Ernst Schwarcz, rev'd Jul 33
Paton, Alan, PIE Oct 1, PIE Nov 15
Pauling, Linus, PIE Aug 15, PIE Sept 15
Peachey, Paul, AGAPE IN TOKYO, Nov 10
Peck, Jim (ed.), *Sit-Ins: The Students Report* (pamphlet), rev'd Jul 33; *Cracking the Color Line* (pamphlet), rev'd Jul 34
Pennsylvania Council to Abolish the Penalty of Death, PIE Jul 15, PIE Sept 1
THE PENTAGON PREPARES FOR GERM WARFARE, Jan 5
Peter Maurin: Gay Believer, Arthur Sheehan, rev'd Mar 34
Pierce, Edith Lovejoy, RACE PREJUDICE (poem), Jul 8, SPACE MISSILE (poem), Mar 13
PLAN OF A PEACE OFFICE FOR THE UNITED STATES, Benjamin Banneker, May 27
Point Four Youth Corps, PIE Mar 1, 1960
Polaris Action, PIE Jul 1, PIE Aug 1, PIE Sept 1, PIE Sept 15, PIE Oct 1, PIE Nov 15, PIE Dec 15
Pommer, Henry F., ACADEMIC AID ON THE ROAD TO PEACE, Sept 15
Power Among Men (film), rev'd Jul 32
Powers, Gary, PIE Sept 1
Powell, Bishop Chilton, PIE Oct 15
A PRAYER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT (prayer), Dr. Charles Francis Whiston, Sept 26
The Prerequisites for Peace, Norman Thomas, rev'd Sept 31
Pride of State, Joseph P. Morray, rev'd Sept 32

Quaker vigil, PIE Dec 1; voluntary tax, PIE Feb 1
QUESTIONS TO A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR AND ANSWERS, 1679, May 29

RACE PREJUDICE (poem), Edith Lovejoy Pierce, Jul 8
Ralph, Philip Lee, *The Story of Our Civilization*, rev'd Jan 32
Randolph, A. Philip, PIE Nov 1
Rees, Elfan, *We Strangers and Afraid*, rev'd Jan 32
Reflections on the Guillotine, Albert Camus, rev'd Mar 34
Report from Palermo, Danilo Dolci, rev'd Mar 26
Reuter, Richard W., rev *The World is Learning Compassion*, Jul 30
Reynolds, Barbara, rev *The Voyage of the Golden Rule*, Jan 27
Roberts, Ray, PIE Feb 15
Robinson, Eroseanna, PIE Jun 15
Robinson, Marvin, PIE Aug 1
Rocky Mountain Arsenal, PIE Mar 1
ROTC, PIE Feb 15, PIE Mar 15, PIE Apr 15, PIE Jun 1, PIE Jul 15, PIE Nov 1
Russell, Bertrand, DARE WE DISARM, Sept 5; *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare*, rev'd Jan 28

Sahara team, PIE Jan 1, PIE Feb 1
St. Barbe-Baker, Richard, Jul 2f
*ST. FRANCIS AND THE INFIDEL, John Haynes Holmes, May 46
Sayre, John Nevin (photo) May 33; MY ADVENTURE IN PACIFISM, May 7, May 1f, May 5f, PIE Jan 1
Schneir, Walter (quoted), Jan 7, Jan 9, Jan 14
Schomer, Howard, *TWO YEARS IN CPS, May 55; rev *Christian Ethics and the Dilemmas of Foreign Policy*, Jul 29; PIE June 15
Schwarcz, Ernst, *Paths to Freedom Through Nonviolence* (pamphlet), rev'd Jul 33
SCIENTISTS SPEAK, Jan 10
Scott, Michael, PIE Jan 1, PIE Jan 15
A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NOTABLE BOOKS FOR PACIFISTS, William Robert Miller (ed.), Mar 21
Sellin, Thorsten, PIE Sept 1
THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT FOR TODAY, Allan Brick, Mar 14
Sermons Preached in a University Church, George A. Buttrick, rev'd Jan 32
Sheldon, Walter J. (quoted), Jan 4
Sheehan, Arthur, *Peter Maurin: Gay Believer*, rev'd Mar 34
Shuttlesworth, Fred (photo), May 35, PIE Sept 15

"silent generation," May 3
sit-ins, PIE Apr 1, PIE Apr 15, PIE May 15, PIE Jun 1, PIE Jun 15, PIE Aug 1, PIE Sept 1, PIE Sept 15, PIE Oct 15, PIE Nov 1, PIE Nov 15, PIE Dec 1, PIE Dec 15
Sit-Ins: The Students Report (pamphlet), Jim Peck (ed.), rev'd Jul 33
Sittler, Joseph, *The Structure of Christian Ethics*, rev'd Sept 32
Smith, Lillian, BEHIND THE SIT-INS, Jul 4; One Hour, rev'd Jan 31
Socialist Platform 1960 (pamphlet), rev'd Sept 34
THE SOUND OF THE TRUMPET, A. J. Muste, May 11
South Africa, PIE Apr 15, PIE Jul 1
SPACE MISSILE (poem), Edith Lovejoy Pierce, Mar 13
Steere, Douglas V., THE ORDER OF THE OLIVE AND THE LAMB, May 5
Stevenson, Adlai (quoted), PIE Jun 1, PIE Jun 15
The Story of Our Civilization, Philip Lee Ralph, rev'd Jan 32
Strategy for Survival, Wayland Young, rev'd Nov 33
STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE, Robert O. Blood Jr., Nov 30
Strontium-90, PIE Feb 15, PIE Apr 1, PIE Jul 1
The Structure of Christian Ethics, Joseph Sittler, rev'd Sept 32
THE STUDENT PEACE UNION, Ken Calkins, Mar 5
Suckow, Ruth, PIE Feb 15
Swomley, John M. Jr. (photo) May 39; UNILATERAL AND UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT, Mar 8: rev *A Case History of Hope*, Jul 31; rev *Dying We Live*, Sept 33, rev *Foundations of the Responsible Society*, Jan 30; rev *Impatient Giant*, Jul 29; rev *I Found God in Soviet Russia*, Jan 31; rev *Modern War and the American Churches*, Mar 32; rev *Morals and Missiles*, Mar 31; rev *Outside the Camp*, Sept 33; rev *Paths in Utopia*, Nov 32; rev *Prerequisites for Peace*, Sept 32; rev *Pride of State*, Sept 32; rev *The Structure of Christian Ethics*, Sept 32; rev *Who Wants Disarmament?*, Nov 32; PIE Mar 1, PIE Apr 15

Taber, Robert (quoted), PIE Nov 1
Teller, Edward, PIE Feb 1
Thomas, Norman, *The Prerequisites for Peace*, rev'd Sept 31; PIE Nov 1
Thomas, Wendell, KIERKEGAARD, JESUS AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD, Mar 25
Thompson, Charles S., ed., *Morals and Missiles*, rev'd Mar 31
Thompson, Kenneth W., *Christian Ethics and the Dilemmas of Foreign Policy*, rev'd Jul 29
Thompson, Tyler, PIE Sept 15, PIE Nov 1, PIE Nov 15
Thurman, Howard, *THE WILL TO SEGREGATION, May 47
*TONIGHT (poem), Margaret C. McCulloch, May 43
TO THE FATHER OF THE BOMB (poem), Dwight L. Bolinger, Nov 9
Tolstoy, Leo N., Nov 21ff
Toynbee, Arnold (quoted), Sept 4
The Tragedy of Apartheid (pamphlet), Mary Benson, rev'd Sept 34
Trancontinental Walk for Peace, PIE Dec 15
THE TRIAL (poem), Virgie Bernhardt, Nov 12
Trocmé, André, PIE Jan 1
Tsarapkin, Semyon K., PIE May 15
Turner, Fred H., PIE Apr 1
*TWO YEARS IN CPS, Howard Schomer, May 55
Tyson, Samuel B., PIE Sept 1

U-2 incident, PIE Jun 1, Sept 1
UNILATERAL AND UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT, John M. Swomley Jr., Mar 8
*THE UNITED FRONT, Kirby Page, May 42
Uphaus, Willard, Jan 1f, PIE Jan 1, PIE Mar 15, PIE Aug 15, PIE Dec 1

Vanderbilt Divinity School, PIE Mar 15, PIE Apr 1, PIE Apr 15, PIE Jun 15, PIE Jul 1
Van Etten, Henry, *George Fox and the Quakers*, rev'd Nov 33
Van Oyen, Hendrik, LEO TOLSTOY AND THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT, Nov 21
Vernon, Jack A. (quoted), Jan 2
THE VIGIL AND APPEAL AT FORT DETRICK, Charles C. Walker, Jan 12
Visser 't Hooft, W.A. (quoted) PIE Dec 15
The Voyage of the Golden Rule, Albert Bigelow, rev'd Jan 27

Walker, Charles C. (photos) May 35, 36, 38; THE VIGIL AND APPEAL AT FORT DETRICK, Jan 12; PIE Oct 1
War Tests the Church, E. P. Blamires, rev'd Mar 34
Warner, Earle (photo), May 35
WARP (poem), John F. Davidson, Jul 27
A Way Forward (pamphlet), rev'd Sept 34
The Way of Man According to the Teaching of Hasidism (pamphlet), Martin Buber, rev'd Jul 34
WBAI, PIE Feb 1
Weigel, Gustave, S. J. (quoted), PIE Sept 15
West Coast Conferences, PIE Aug 15
West, Charles C., *Outside the Camp*, rev'd Sept 33
We Strangers and Afraid (pamphlet), Elfan Rees, rev'd Jan 32
Whitney, Norman J. (photo), May 35 (quoted) Jan 13
Who Wants Disarmament?, Richard J. Barnet rev'd Nov 25
Why Did God Create the Races (pamphlet) Kenneth J. Foreman, rev'd Jul 34
THE WILL TO PEACE, Roland H. Bainton Nov 13
*THE WILL TO SEGREGATION, Howard Thurman, May 47
Willoughby, George, rev *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare*, Jan 28
Witchell, J. B. (quoted), Sept 4
Wolf, Dr. Ernest, PIE Sept 1
World Council of Churches, PIE Dec 15
The World is Learning Compassion, Frank C Laubach, rev'd Jul 30
Wycoff, D. Campbell, *The Gospel and Christian Education*, rev'd Jan 32

Yoder, John Howard (photo), May 35; *The Ecumenical Movement and the Faithful Church* (pamphlet), rev'd Sept 34
Yost, Tom, PIE Jan 15
Young, Senator Stephen M., Jul 2, PIE Dec 15
Young, Wayland, *Strategy for Survival*, rev'd Nov 33

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

OFFICERS

George Lyman Paine ..... Hon. Chairman
Charles R. Lawrence ..... Chairman
A. Stauffer Curry ..... Vice-Chairman
Paul Deats ..... Vice-Chairman
Allan A. Hunter ..... Vice-Chairman
Alberta Lunger ..... Vice-Chairman
Robert Moon ..... Vice-Chairman
Claud D. Nelson ..... Vice-Chairman
Emily Parker Simon ..... Vice-Chairman
M. Forest Ashbrook ..... Treasurer

NATIONAL STAFF

Alfred Hassler ..... Executive Secretary
Glenn E. Smiley ..... Associate Secretary, Field Work
Raymond Paavo Arvio ..... Finance Secretary
William Robert Miller ..... Managing Editor
Charles Jones ..... Student Secretary
John M. Swomley Jr. ..... Foreign Affairs Consultant
A. J. Muste ..... Secretary Emeritus
John Nevin Sayre ..... International FOR

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Roland H. Bainton
Harold A. Bosley
Charles F. Boss
Margueritte Harmon Bro
George A. Buttrick
Henry J. Cadbury
Robert L. Calhoun
Henry Hitt Crane
Edwin T. Dahlberg
Albert Edward Day
William J. Faulkner
Nels F. S. Ferré
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Richard B. Gregg
Isidor Hoffman
John Haynes Holmes
E. Stanley Jones
Martin Luther King Jr.
Kenneth Scott Latourette
William Appleton Lawrence
Mary Ely Lyman
Clarence Pickett
Carl Rasmussen
Paul Scherer
Arthur L. Swift Jr.
Howard Thurman
Dan West

FIELD STAFF

ARIZONA
Rev. Walter Dugan
3020 E. Virginia Ave.
Phoenix 1, Arizona

CALIFORNIA
Miss Lois V. Hamer
4360 Melrose Avenue
Los Angeles 29, Calif.

ILLINOIS
Mrs. Dorothy Calkins
3212 Otto Lane
Evanston, Ill.

KANSAS
Rev. Ken Redfearn
Box 1076
Hugoton, Kansas

MASSACHUSETTS
Neal Fisher
67 Lowe Street
Revere, Mass.

Jerry Fix
40 Peterborough St.
Boston 15, Mass.

Harold Garman
393 Marlborough St.
Boston 16, Mass.

Peter Salmon
10 Kirkland Road
Cambridge 38, Mass.

NEW JERSEY
Rev. Henry Frost
222 Main St.
S. Bound Brook, N. J.

NEW YORK
Brewster Kneen
600 West 122 St.
New York 27, N. Y.

Dr. Earle H. Warner
Box 271
Nyack, N. Y.

Mrs. Margaret Warner
468 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

NORTH CAROLINA
John Kinard
924 W. Monroe St.
Salisbury, N. C.

OREGON
Howard P. Willitts
11848 S.E. Powell Blvd.
Portland 66, Oregon

PENNSYLVANIA
T. Y. Rogers Jr.
2006 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

TENNESSEE
C. Freeman Sleeper
1717 Hillmont
Nashville, Tenn.

TEXAS
Fanny B. Vanderkooi
10251 Harry Hines Blvd.
Dallas, Texas

NORTHWEST
Maxine Acker
1614 West 8th Street
Aberdeen, Washington

WASHINGTON
Irwin Hogenauer
1314 East 43rd Street
Seattle, Washington

REPRESENTATIVES OF DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATES

BAPTIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. W. M. Hammond Jr.
476 West State Street
Trenton, New Jersey

DISCIPLES PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Barton Hunter
222 So. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana

EPISCOPAL PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Freedom Wentworth III
77 Brentwood Drive
Malden 48, Mass.

FELLOWSHIP OF METHODIST PACIFISTS
Mrs. Margarita Will
18W 684 13 Street
Lombard, Illinois

LIBERAL RELIGIOUS PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. George Brooks
Unitarian Church, Dunkirk, N. Y.

LUTHERAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Albert E. Myers
3140 Green Valley Road
Cheyenne, Wyoming

NEW CHURCH PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Gustave J. Bischof
471 Ocean Parkway
Brooklyn 18, N. Y.

PEACE FELLOWSHIP OF PRESBYTERIANS
Mrs. B. W. Hamilton
52 East 66 Street
New York City

SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Henry Lofquist
Snow Hill, N. C.

UNITED CHURCH PEACE FELLOWSHIP (CONGR.-E & R)
Rev. Theodore A. Braun
807 West Beaver Avenue
State College, Penna.

NEW AND CHEAP

Have you read these valuable but inexpensive publications?

I AND THOU by Martin Buber ..... paperback **$1.25**
This book has become a classic within its author's lifetime. In it, the distinguished Jewish philosopher plumbs the depths of man's personal relation with God and his fellow man, and reveals the religious dimension in every human encounter.

UNFINISHED REVOLUTION by Tom Kahn **50c**
An indispensable pamphlet about the sit-in movement, its place in the long struggle for racial equality, and other steps that need to be taken to secure the promise of American democracy for all citizens.

THE BIG HAND IN YOUR POCKET **25c**
No arguments, no sermons—just a handy compendium of facts and figures comprising an eye-opening picture of the U. S. Permanent War Economy that is devoting over 10% of America's entire output to "defense" measures.

COMMON SENSE IN DEFENSE by Stephen King-Hall **35c**
A distinguished military analyst, Commander King-Hall concisely argues the case for unilateral nuclear disarmament on strategic rather than moral grounds. Excellent for use in discussion groups. For a fuller account, order King-Hall's important book, **DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE**—clothbound, **$2.75.**

THE CAMPUS PROTEST AGAINST R.O.T.C. by Allan Brick **10c**
Compulsory military training goes against the grain of academic freedom. Brick, one of the founders of the Student Peace Union, tells how ROTC seeks to indoctrinate and regiment American college students—and how they are fighting back.

LET MAN PREVAIL by Erich Fromm **35c**
The author of *The Art of Loving* and *The Sane Society* here presents a "socialist manifesto and program" based on his ideas of healthy and creative human relationships.

THE WORLD CHURCH AND THE PROBLEM OF PEACE
by William Robert Miller **5c**
A handy reprint from *United Church Herald* in which FELLOWSHIP's managing editor points out the pacifist implications of the Ecumenical Movement and calls upon Christians to begin now to fulfill them.

All orders postpaid from

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
BOX 274, NYACK, N.Y.